DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 466 518 UD 035 168

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TITLE Targeted Outreach: Boys & Girls Clubs of America's Approach to Gang Prevention and Intervention.

INSTITUTION Public/Private Ventures, Philadelphia, PA.

SPONS AGENCY Pinkerton Foundation, New York, NY.; Department of Justice, Washington, DC. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

PUB DATE 2002-03-00

NOTE 75p.; Some pictures may not reproduce clearly.

CONTRACT 95-JD-FX-0007

AVAILABLE FROM Public/Private Ventures, One Commerce Square, 2005 Market St., Ste. 900, Philadelphia, PA 19103. Tel: 215-557-4400; Fax: 215-557-4469. For full text: http://www.ppv.org.

PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Adolescent Development; *At Risk Persons; *Juvenile Gangs; Program Effectiveness; Program Evaluation; Recruitment; *Youth Clubs; Youth Programs

IDENTIFIERS *Boys Clubs of America; *Girls Clubs of America; Risk Reduction; Risk Taking Behavior

ABSTRACT

This study evaluated the effectiveness of the Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach (GPTTO) and Gang Intervention Through Targeted Outreach (GITTO) initiatives of the Boys & Girls Clubs of America. The study examined whether the clubs were attracting youth at high risk of gang involvement, whether clubs could keep GPTTO and GITTO youth participating in the club or program, whether GITTO and GPTTO youth were receiving positive supports through participation in the club, and whether participation had positive effects on the lives of GPTTO and GITTO youth. The evaluation involved 21 clubs that used the prevention approach and 3 that used the intervention approach. Survey results indicated that GPTTO and GITTO were meeting their goals. Clubs attracted and retained youth at high risk of gang involvement. GPTTO and GITTO youth received key developmental supports at the clubs that they might otherwise seek through involvement with gangs. Those who participated more frequently experienced positive outcomes. The estimated incremental cost per youth per year of the GPTTO and GITTO approaches were far less than the cost of gang suppression. Four appendices include sample sites; survey sample at baseline and follow-up; construct list with items, response categories, and reliability coefficients; and analytic strategies. (Contains 38 references.) (SM)

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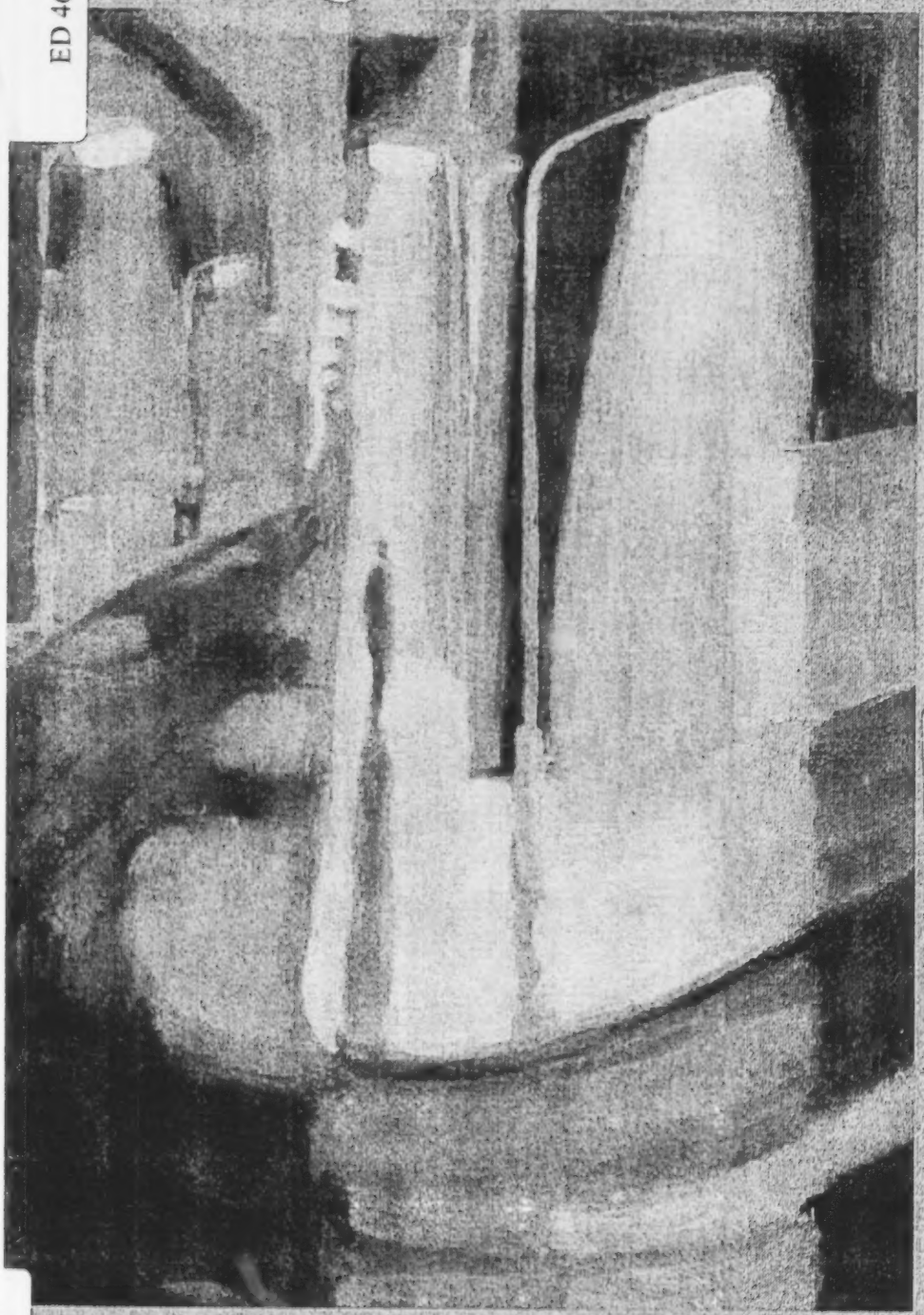

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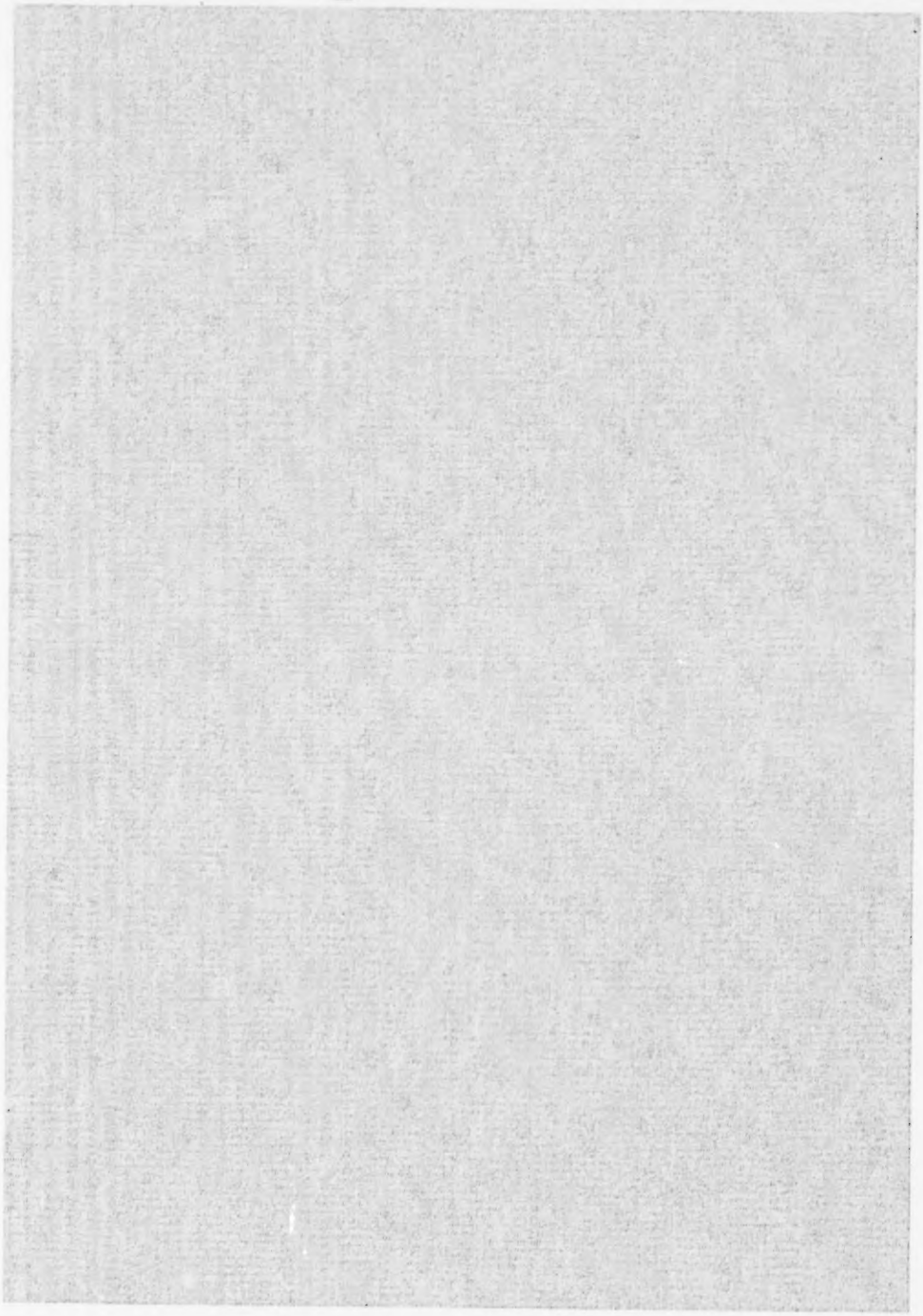

Boys & Girls Clubs of America's Approach to Gang Prevention and Intervention

Amy J.A. Arbreton
Wendy S. McClanahan

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Acknowledgments

This research was made possible by funding from The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) and The Pinkerton Foundation. We thank these organizations for their support and dedication to working on hard issues pertaining to high-risk youth.

This report is the culmination of three years of work on the part of many organizations and individuals. The Boys & Girls Clubs of America (BGCA), who commissioned the study, was a key participant in the evaluation. BGCA staff members Frank Sanchez and Becky Hagstrom provided feedback on data collection instruments and on drafts of this report. Graham Duval, formerly of BGCA, dutifully tracked data collection forms and fulfilled our requests for additional information about the sites. The BGCA advisory board for Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach (GPTTO) provided P/PV with valuable feedback on data collection instruments and the evaluation design. At the beginning of the project, Denise Herz examined the research design and instruments to be used and provided important insights and recommendations for assessment tools. Barry Glick and Buddy Howell reviewed this document and offered comments and suggestions for references and clarifications; Irving Spergel commented on the analysis of risk factors for youth. Jim Burch and Phelan Wyrick of OJJDP thoroughly reviewed an early draft.

Finally, this study would not have been possible without the cooperation of all of the GPTTO and Gang Intervention Through Targeted Outreach (GITTO) study Clubs. A special thanks goes to the Boys & Girls Clubs who hosted our visits and provided us with valuable information about program operations and implementation: Boys & Girls Club of Manatee County, Bradenton and Palmetto units; Boys & Girls Club of Garden Grove, Garden Grove and Peters units; Tustin Boys & Girls Club; Boys & Girls Club of Greater Forth Worth, Comin' Up program; Boys & Girls Club of St. Paul, Getting Out Program; and Boys & Girls Club of Ventura, Facing the Future program.

We also appreciate the work of Katherine Flint, Tammy Ouellette and James Ross of Macro International, Inc., along with their team of field and phone interviewers, who were responsible for the follow-up interview high response rates. They also helped the Clubs identify, recruit and survey comparison group youth.

We would also like to thank the P/PV staff whose contributions to the study and report were invaluable. Nina Chernoff (a former P/PV staff member) spent many hours on site visits, collecting and analyzing data, and training sites in data collection. Zoua Vang (a former P/PV staff member) and Tracey Hartmann analyzed the organizational surveys. Tracey Hartmann also joined us on several site visits, conducted some valuable analyses and contributed to the writing of the report; Zoua Vang contributed to the literature review. Eleanor Hammond managed and processed the incoming data. Karen Walker, Jean Grossman, Gary Walker and Kathryn Furano reviewed drafts of the report and provided insightful comments that honed its content and structure. Natalie Jaffe edited multiple drafts of the report, Lynn Davis-Trier completed a final edit and Carol Kersbergen processed copyedits. Malish & Pagonis designed the report, and Maxine Sherman coordinated its publication and dissemination. Finally, a very special thanks goes to Sarah Pepper; her expert analysis of the data was critical to the study and its culmination in this report.

The project was supported by Award Number 95-JD-FX-0007, awarded by OJJDP's Office of Justice Programs. The opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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Executive Summary

Although decreasing in recent years, the level of violent crime in the United States is still considerably higher than it was in the 1960s and 1970s. Some experts predict that violent crime rates will not continue to drop as drastically, if at all, in the years to come (see Snyder and Sickmund, 1999). Studies have shown that gang members are disproportionately involved in crimes; gang members are more likely to commit serious and violent crimes than non-gang members and to do so with high frequency (Howell, 1998; Thornberry, 1998). And though an annual national survey of the gang situation in the United States indicates that 1996 marked the current peak in the rise of the number of gang members (Egley, 2000), the number of youth at the prime age for gang involvement (14 to 24 years old) in the United States is growing. Thus, determining effective ways to prevent the spread of gangs remains a key component of crime-reduction policy.

The Approach

Given the rise in the number of gangs in the early 1990s, Boys & Girls Clubs of America (BGCA)—with funding and support from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)—took a step toward helping to address the gang problem in our nation. In keeping with OJJDP's Comprehensive Community-Wide Model, BGCA developed two initiatives—Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach (GPTTO), designed to help youth stay out of the gang lifestyle, and Gang Intervention Through Targeted Outreach (GITTO), designed to help youth get away from their gang-associated behaviors and values.

There are four components of the initiatives as stated by BGCA:

1. **Community mobilization** of resources to combat the community gang problem;
2. **Recruitment** of 50 youth at risk of gang involvement (Prevention) or 35 youth already involved in gangs (Intervention) through outreach and referrals;
3. Promoting positive developmental experiences for these youth by developing interest-based programs that also address the youth's specific needs through **programming and mainstreaming** of youth into the Clubs; and

4. Providing individualized **case management** across four areas (law enforcement/juvenile justice, school, family and Club) to target youth to decrease gang-related behaviors[1] and contact with the juvenile justice system, and to increase the likelihood that they will attend school and show improved academic success.

Because one approach is preventive and the other an intervention with youth who are already exhibiting gang behaviors, these components translated into different implementation strategies in the two initiatives. For example, the youth in the intervention project need different services (e.g., drug treatment, tattoo removal, job training, educational services), than those in the prevention group. Therefore, the organizations with whom Clubs develop their network would also differ. Further, prevention youth mainstreaming into Club programming is immediate, whereas it occurs much later for a hard-core gang member or youth who has been entrenched in the gang lifestyle and negative behaviors. Nevertheless, each of the four components is a building block for the success of both the intervention and prevention initiatives.

A major component of both GPTTO and GITTO is the Clubs' attention to recruitment of hard-to-reach youth. Club staff develop strategies to draw in youth who have not typically been involved in productive after-school activities and those who might not have joined the Club without some external encouragement. Youth are identified and recruited through direct outreach and referrals from such resources as school personnel, social service agencies, police and probation. The prevention model recruits youth into local Boys & Girls Clubs to participate in all aspects of Club programming. The intervention model recruits youth to participate in a project that is staffed by Boys & Girls Clubs, but is run separately (either after typical Club hours or on a more one-on-one case management basis) from daily Club activities.

Studies show that Boys & Girls Clubs serve at-risk youth and provide them with important positive developmental supports (Gambone and Arbreton, 1997; Feyerherm et al., 1992). Other studies have called the GPTTO and GITTO approaches promising (Esbensen, 2000; Howell, 2000). Their emphasis on community mobilization, recruitment of high-risk youth, new programming strategies and case management reflect a shift in Club philosophy and implementation. Implementing the GPTTO or GITTO approach at a Club changes the culture of the Club—how it works with other agencies, how it thinks about recruitment and the youth it serves, how programming is designed and implemented, its hours of operation, how staff interact with youth, and the level of documentation maintained about individual youth.

Because the approaches undertaken by each Club are designed within the framework of the four components of GPTTO and GITTO (and their intended outcomes), there are many similarities among the Clubs and how they operate their initiatives. Because the Clubs' communities, gang problems, resources and infrastructure differ, there is not one specific way to implement GPTTO or GITTO; therefore, there is no single model or program. Clubs themselves identify the specifics: target populations they will serve given the risk factors prevalent for gangs in their area; the community agencies with which they will collaborate; and the programming they will offer based on the needs and interests of the groups of youth they serve. Because there is no single, specific model, we describe the approaches the Clubs take to address the four components of the initiatives.

The Evaluation

In 1997, with funding from OJJDP and The Pinkerton Foundation, P/PV embarked on an evaluation of GPTTO and GITTO. The aims of the study were:

- To learn if the Clubs succeeded at attracting youth at high risk of gang involvement;
- To discover if the Clubs could keep GPTTO and GITTO youth participating at the Club or program;
- To determine if GITTO and GPTTO youth were indeed receiving positive supports through their participation in the Club; and
- To assess if participation had a positive effect on the lives of GPTTO and GITTO youth.

The specific outcomes of interest to BGCA and pursued in this evaluation were decreased levels of gang behaviors, decreased contact with the juvenile justice system, and increased levels of academic achievement and positive school behaviors. We also wanted to understand what worked for Clubs implementing

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GPTTO and GITTO and what challenges they encountered. Finally, we investigated GPTTO and GITTO's cost.

The evaluation included 21 Boys & Girls Clubs that used the prevention approach and three Clubs that used the intervention approach. BGCA selected the sites through a competitive process in Summer 1997. All of the prevention Clubs began using GPTTO either simultaneous with the start of the evaluation or one year prior. The intervention Clubs developed their projects between one and three years prior to the start of the evaluation.

The study included 932 prevention youth and 104 intervention youth who were recruited to each Club/Project over approximately a 10-month period. The target youth survey sub-sample consisted of 236 prevention and 66 intervention youth.

Given the complexity of the GPTTO and GITTO models, the P/PV evaluation used multiple methods for gathering information:

- To learn about who is recruited and what information is tracked, the evaluators reviewed case management records;
- To discover how the youth change, the evaluators administered a questionnaire to a sample of GPTTO and GITTO target youth when they were first recruited and again approximately 12 months later. They also surveyed a comparison group of youth who did not attend Clubs; and again approximately 12 months later;[2]
- To understand implementation issues at each Club, evaluators surveyed Club directors one year after the start of the evaluation; and
- To gather in-depth information about implementation, evaluators conducted interviews, held focus groups and collected observation data on site from three Clubs utilizing the prevention approach and three using an intervention approach.

The Findings

Did the Clubs reach their intended population of youth?

Prevention Clubs drew in a significant number of new youth (44 on average) who were at high risk of gang involvement based on such indicators as their level of association with negative peers, poor academic histories, and prior involvement in illegal and delinquent activities. Intervention Clubs were also successful in attracting new youth (34 on average), a majority of whom were already gang members or were demonstrating gang behaviors. Comparisons of the risk factors (e.g., delinquent behaviors) of both prevention and intervention youth to other national studies of youth show that the Clubs are reaching youth with considerable needs. These youth are also older, on average, than are the typical Club or youth-serving organization participant (48 percent of prevention and 96 percent of intervention youth are age 13 or older, as compared with 30 percent of the population not enrolled in the initiative). Both initiatives reached youth who may not have made it to the Club by themselves. Given that older and higher-risk youth rarely participate in youth organizations, this is a significant accomplishment.

Did Clubs engage youth and provide them with positive developmental experiences?

First, Clubs kept a majority of youth engaged for 12 months. Even given the high-risk characteristics of the youth that can make them difficult to attract and keep interested, a majority of youth (73 percent and 68 percent for prevention and intervention youth, respectively) were still attending the Clubs/Projects[3] one year after they were initially recruited. In addition, attendance rates were high: 50 percent of prevention and 21 percent of intervention youth reported having been to the Clubs/Projects *several times per week* in the month prior to the follow-up interview. These levels of retention and participation are difficult to achieve with any youth or teen, let alone with youth who have been engaging in high-risk behaviors.

Second, target youth did experience many youth-development practices critical to healthy development. Almost all youth (96 percent of prevention and 86 percent of intervention) reported receiving adult support and guidance from at least one Boys &

Girls Club staff member (with 79 percent and 53 percent, respectively, reporting that there are two or more Boys & Girls Club staff from whom they received support). A majority of youth agreed or strongly agreed that they felt a sense of belonging to the Club (64 percent of prevention and 56 percent of intervention). Fifty-nine percent of prevention target youth and 35 percent of intervention target youth reported that the Club activities are interesting and challenging.

Most target youth also perceived the Club as "safe." On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being safest, 86 percent of prevention and 70 percent of intervention youth rated the Club at 8 or higher. In contrast, only 64 percent of prevention and 43 percent of intervention youth rated their schools as this safe. These experiences, which are critical to successful youth development, provide opportunities that these youth may not have received in other realms of their lives. Without the Club, they may have sought similar experiences through gang involvement.

Did youth's participation in the Clubs play a positive role in and have the desired effects on their lives—keeping them away from gangs and delinquency and increasing their positive school behaviors and success?

More frequent GPTTO Club attendance is associated with the following positive outcomes:[4]

- Delayed onset of one gang behavior (less likely to start wearing gang colors*),
- Less contact with the juvenile justice system (less likely to be sent away by the court+),
- Fewer delinquent behaviors (stealing less+, and less likely to start smoking pot+),
- Improved school outcomes (higher grades+ and greater valuing of doing well in school+), and
- More positive social relationships and productive use of out-or-school time (engaging in more positive after-school activities+ and increased levels of positive peer* and family relationships*).

More frequent attendance among GITTO youth is associated with the following positive outcomes:

- Disengagement from gang-associated behaviors and peers (less stealing with gang members*, wearing gang colors+, flashing gang signals***, hanging out at the same place as gang members*, being a victim of a gang attack+ and having fewer negative peers+),
- Less contact with the juvenile justice system (a lower incidence of being sent away by the court**), and
- More positive school engagement (greater expectations of graduating from high school or receiving a GED*).

How did Clubs accomplish their GPTTO and GITTO goals, and what challenges did they face?

Although each Club implemented the components of GPTTO or GITTO differently, they experienced some consistent operational challenges. Interestingly, although program evaluations often uncover substantive programmatic challenges, the main challenges that the clubs implementing GPTTO and GITTO faced were administrative. Below, we highlight the Clubs' main operational challenges.

Club staff felt challenged to keep up with the influx of new staff at collaborating agencies.

Collaborating agencies suggested that Clubs' staff increase their follow-up, specifically by holding multiple orientations for additional or new agency employees and updating the referring agency about the status of the referred youth. Such contacts, the agencies felt, would help to maximize referrals and improve the collaborative relationship.

The Case Management documentation component brought some specific challenges.

All Clubs were most consistent at tracking youth's progress, behaviors and achievements at the Clubs. There was greater variation in their ability to document their progress at school, within the juvenile justice system or at home. Clubs that forged relationships with schools more consistently gathered and documented the school information. Those that had a relationship with police and probation followed youth's progress in juvenile justice more consistently. When Clubs were not able to maintain relationships with schools, probation or police, they could not monitor youth's progress in those areas. Additionally, Clubs found the lengthy paperwork burdensome. Although monthly tracking forms are components of the GPTTO and GITTO documentation philosophy, the evaluation required that Clubs provide the information at a level of specificity that the Clubs found

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difficult to attain (e.g, a copy of youth's report cards, rather than the staff's impression of whether they had shown improvement academically).

Staff turnover presented a challenge to Clubs' ability to develop and maintain relationships with referral agencies and youth, as well as meeting documentation requirements.

During the first year of the evaluation, all but one intervention and two prevention Clubs experienced the loss of at least one key staff member (a case manager, outreach coordinator or project director). As a result, they had to train new staff in the Targeted Outreach philosophy and documentation process, and give them time to rebuild relationships with targeted outreach youth and staff from referral agencies.

Conclusions

Overall, GPTTO and GITTO seem to be meeting their goals. Clubs succeeded at getting and keeping youth at high risk of gang involvement in the Club. GPTTO and GITTO youth received key developmental supports at the Club, ones that they might otherwise seek through involvement with gangs. Youth who participated more frequently experienced positive outcomes. The overarching philosophy of giving youth the same things they seek through gangs—supportive adults, challenging activities, a place where youth feel they belong—appears to be paying off.

Further, the estimated *incremental* cost per youth per year of the GPTTO and GITTO approaches are far less than the cost of gang suppression. Building their programs up from seed money ($4,000 for prevention and $15,000 for intervention) received from OJJDP through BGCA, programs raised additional funds ranging from $3,000 to $46,000 (prevention), and $22,000 to more than $1 million (intervention). These funds cover the direct costs of one year of implementation. They are direct costs and do not include resources spent on Club operating expenses or management, facility upkeep or maintenance, or the in-kind contributions of Club staff and collaborating agencies. Thus, the average *incremental* cost per GPTTO youth was $340, for GITTO youth, $1,889. The relatively low figures mark the advantage and efficiency of using established agencies and enhancing their services to target these harder-to-reach youth.

Whether GPTTO can prevent gang membership and GITTO can stop it for more than the 12-month study period remains to be seen. This evaluation could not definitively answer this question, although it did provide preliminary evidence that more participation in GPTTO and GITTO could help prevent or reduce gang-related delinquent activities for youth.

This evaluation took place early in the initiative, while Clubs were still in the developmental stages of implementation, and thus, GITTO and GPTTO's accomplishments seem particularly impressive. This, combined with the fact that the costs of implementing GPTTO and GITTO are relatively low, demonstrates that GPTTO and GITTO hold promise by preventing negative youth outcomes (such as stealing, substance use and contact with the courts) and reducing youth involvement with gangs.

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I. Introduction

Although decreasing in recent years, the level of violent crime is still considerably higher than it was in the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, experts predict that violent crime rates will not continue to drop as drastically, if at all, in the years to come (see Snyder and Sickmund, 1999).

Criminological research consistently finds that gang members are more likely than non-gang members to commit offenses, especially serious and violent offenses, and to do so with high frequency (see Howell, 1998, for a review; also Thornberry, 1998). For example, in a study conducted in Rochester, New York, gang members accounted for 68 percent of the violent acts, 68 percent of the property crimes and 70 percent of drug sales, even though they represented less than one-third of the sample (Thornberry, 1998).

Although an annual survey of law enforcement agencies in the United States indicates that 1996 marked the current peak in the number of gang members nationally (Egley, 2000), the number of youth between the ages 14 to 24 in the U.S.—the prime age for gang involvement—is growing. Thus, determining effective ways to prevent and continue to deter the spread of gangs remains critical in the efforts to reduce crime.

In response to the rise in the number of gang members and the rise in juvenile crime and delinquency during the early 1990s, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) developed the Comprehensive Community-Wide Approach to Gang Prevention, Intervention and Suppression (Spergel, Chance et al., 1994; Spergel, Curry et al., 1994; see also Burch and Chemers, 1997; Burch and Kane, 1999). This comprehensive gang model, often referred to as the Spergel model, engages communities in a systematic gang assessment, consensus building and program development process. The model involves the delivery of five core strategies—community mobilization; provision of academic, economic and social opportunities; social intervention; gang suppression; and organizational change and development—through an integrated and team-oriented problem-solving approach.

This evaluation examined two initiatives developed by Boys & Girls Clubs of America (BGCA) and local Clubs that fit within the OJJDP Comprehensive

Community-Wide Model. One strategy is designed to help youth stay out of the gang lifestyle—Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach (GPTTO). The second initiative helps youth get out of gangs and away from their associated behaviors and values—Gang Intervention Through Targeted Outreach (GITTO). These strategies were implemented with funding from OJJDP. The evaluation, described in this report, indicates that the initiatives appear to have positive effects on the youth involved, including reduction in delinquent and gang-associated behaviors and more positive school experiences.

Why are Youth Attracted To and Joining Gangs?

In designing their prevention and intervention initiatives, BGCA sought to attract to their Clubs the same youth who join gangs, offering them alternative structures and support mechanisms that meet the needs and interests typically served by the gang and the gang lifestyle. As Irving Spergel (1995) describes in his book, *The Youth Gang Problem*:

> The gang is an important life experience for a growing number of youth in low-income, changing and unstable minority communities. Gangs serve the interests and needs of certain vulnerable youth, particularly during the adolescent and young adult period, when existing social, economic, and even religious institutions do not function properly. Gangs provide a certain degree of physical protection, social support, solidarity, cultural identification, and moral education as well as opportunities for self-esteem, honor, and sometimes economic gain.

From a developmental perspective, gangs appeal to a youth's—particularly an adolescent's—search for acceptance and a sense of belonging. For many youth, the gang lifestyle also appeals to their interest in seeking fun and excitement and taking risks (Vigil, 1988). Some youth say they join and stay in gangs for the potential financial gains from criminal activities. Gangs can also provide a "substitute family." And, as some researchers note, in a setting that is not and does not feel safe, joining a gang "may result from a rational calculation to achieve personal security" (Spergel, 1995). For youth who join a gang, then, the gang becomes a basic support system they may otherwise lack.

Youth also join gangs because of risk factors in their lives that propel them toward gangs. These factors exist in several domains: individual, family, community, school and peer group (Hill et al., 1999). Thus, youth need programs that address these risk factors. Given the reasons that youth join gangs, prevention strategies must accommodate both youth's developmental needs for safety, support and structure, as well as their interest in having fun, seeking excitement and making money. Intervention strategies provide alternatives to gang involvement. Thus, both prevention and intervention gang programs are promising strategies for preventing gang membership and separating youth from gangs (Howell, 2000).

Reaching Those Who Need Prevention and Intervention

To succeed, gang intervention and prevention approaches need to attract and serve the youth who need them most. For example, after-school programs that provide healthy alternatives for youth serve as important resources for reducing youth crime, which studies have shown to occur primarily in the hours between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m. (Snyder and Sickmund, 1999; analyses of the FBI's 1991-1996 data). However, some critics have questioned whether the youth who would most benefit are attracted to or willing to attend such programs (see Olsen, 2000).

Indeed, a dilemma many youth development practitioners face is that they want to serve both troubled youth—that is, youth already in contact with the justice system, those involved with gangs or those with serious academic difficulties—and those who may be economically disadvantaged, but not otherwise at risk. Practitioners fear that troubled youth may have a negative effect on the other youth in the program. These concerns are commonly voiced by program staff, board members and participants' parents. However, in the absence of strategies developed to work with more severely "hard core" youth, strategies that provide them with the types of positive supports and opportunities they need as much as other youth, while at the same time dealing with the harder issues they bring to the table (e.g., drug problems, academic problems, dealings with the justice system)—the funding poured into after-school programs is going to miss these hard-to-reach youth.

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A New Approach for Clubs: Targeted Outreach and Services

In the late 1980s, BGCA embarked on a partnership with OJJDP involving an extensive pilot project aimed at reducing youth delinquency. BGCA's two comprehensive approaches to gang prevention and intervention—GPTTO and GITTO—emerged as outgrowths of these strategies, designed to target two groups of particularly hard-to-reach youth, those on the fringes or at risk for gang involvement, and those already involved in gang behaviors and a gang lifestyle. Thirty-three Clubs across the country piloted and helped to develop GPTTO and GITTO in the early 1990s.

The prevention approach (GPTTO) provides positive alternatives for youth with risk factors associated with gang involvement. The intervention approach (GITTO) targets youth already involved in gangs or heavily involved in gang behaviors. The four components and the overarching objectives of these components (e.g., their intended outcomes), as stated by BGCA, are:

- Community mobilization of resources to combat the community gang problem;
- Recruitment of 50 youth at risk of gang involvement (prevention) or 35 youth already involved in gangs (intervention) through outreach and referrals;
- Promoting positive developmental experiences for these youth by developing interest-based programs that also address the youth's specific needs through programming and mainstreaming of youth into the Clubs; and
- Providing individualized case management across four areas (law enforcement/juvenile justice, school, family and Club) to target youth to decrease gang-related behaviors[5] and contact with the juvenile justice system, and to increase the likelihood that they will attend school and show improved academic success.

Because one approach is preventive and the other an intervention with youth who are already exhibiting gang behaviors, these components translate into different strategies for implementation. For example, the youth in the intervention project need different services (e.g., drug treatment, tattoo removal, job training, educational services) than those in the prevention group. Therefore, the organizations with whom Clubs develop their network would also differ. Furthermore, for prevention youth, the point at which a youth might be mainstreamed into Club programming is immediate, whereas it occurs much later for a hardcore gang member or youth who has been more entrenched in the gang lifestyle and negative behaviors. Nevertheless, each of the four components is a building block for the success of both the intervention and the prevention strategies.

Because the approaches undertaken by each Club are designed within the framework of the four components of GPTTO and GITTO (and their intended outcomes), there are many similarities among Clubs and how they operate their initiatives. However, because the Clubs' communities, gang problems, resources and infrastructure differ, there is not one specific way to conduct GPTTO or GITTO; and therefore, there is not a single model or program that all Clubs implement. Each Club identifies the specifics: target populations, based on the risk factors prevalent for gangs in their area; the community agencies with which they will collaborate; and the programming they will offer based on the needs and interests of the groups of youth they serve. As such, there is no specific model or "program" to describe; rather, throughout the report, we describe the approaches taken by the Clubs to address the four components of the initiatives.

A major component of both GPTTO and GITTO is the Clubs' attention to recruitment of hard-to-reach youth. Club staff develop strategies to draw in youth who have not typically been involved in productive after-school activities, and those who might not have joined the Club without some external encouragement. The Clubs use direct outreach and referrals from such agencies as school, social service, police and probation to identify and recruit target youth. Clubs that implement the prevention model focus on mainstreaming GPTTO youth into Club activities without labeling them. Although these youth are "case managed," Club staff work to keep the process "transparent."

Clubs that have developed an intervention model may serve youth separately from those youth who are attending the existing Boys & Girls Clubs (e.g., after regular Club hours, in a separate location or through individualized case management services that are not

place-based). Thus, the GITTO target youth know that they are in a program or receiving services aimed at helping them get out of the gang lifestyle and improve their life circumstances.

How GPTTO and GITTO Differ from the Typical Boys & Girls Club Approach

To implement either the GPTTO or GITTO model, Clubs must shift their overall philosophy to include community mobilization, recruitment, programming and case management goals. These are not simple "add-on" programs, such as a new literacy, life skills or basketball activity might be. Implementing GPTTO or GITTO at a Club changes the culture of the Club—how it works with other agencies, how it thinks about recruitment and the youth it serves, how it designs and implements programming, how staff interact with youth and youth's parents, and the level of case management documentation maintained for individual youth (i.e., tracking the youth's progress in the Club and in the domain of the youth's life outside the Club).

GITTO is even more different from the usual Boys & Girls Club approach: the project is developed over time in concert with key players in the community who work with gang-involved youth. It provides a more intensive, intervention or service-oriented experience in order to address the greater needs of the intervention youth. Boys & Girls Clubs have generally been more prevention-oriented; GITTO takes a step in a new direction.

Because these are community-based and site-based prevention and intervention strategies, Clubs differ in their approaches. Generally, they followed the same basic youth development strategies and four program components (i.e., community mobilization, recruitment, programming/mainstreaming and case management). To provide the reader with a better understanding of the commonalities and differences among prevention and intervention Clubs and the strategies they developed to work with youth, summary descriptions of three intervention sites and three prevention sites are included in Appendix A.

An Optimal Setting

Boys & Girls Clubs provide an optimal setting for testing both gang prevention and intervention approaches. The Clubs served youth across the country for more than 140 years, historically in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods. In the last several decades, the Clubs have expanded to public housing developments. By establishing Clubs in the heart of areas with few resources for youth, BGCA has, as its slogan indicates, provided safe places for youth to join and engage in "a positive place for kids." Because local Boys & Girls Clubs have existed in many of their communities for decades, they have a history and experience serving youth who are disengaged from school, have been in trouble, and are not connected to positive supports and resources. Indeed, a 1997 survey of five Boys & Girls Clubs found that 54 percent of the youth ages 10 to 18 served by the Clubs had one or more serious risk factors that could be associated with negative long-term outcomes (Kotloff, Wahhab and Arbreton, 1997).

Another reason that Clubs may be effective in reaching and serving youth at risk of gang involvement or already involved in gangs is that many Clubs are located in areas identified with high rates of gang activity. As such, they are in a prime spot to reach out to those youth and offer easily accessible services, which is crucial because transportation issues can often be a major impediment (see Quinn, 1999). Further, Boys & Girls Clubs provide an existing infrastructure in terms of staffing, funding and facilities. New strategies for serving youth can be integrated into this infrastructure and managed with comparatively little additional operational cost.

Finally, findings from previous evaluations of Boys & Girls Clubs and programs they have developed and initiated provide evidence of Clubs' potential to play a positive role in the lives of the youth they serve and their communities. In the study of five Boys & Girls Clubs noted earlier, youth ages 10 to 18 were receiving important developmental experiences through their participation at the Clubs, particularly in the areas of adult support, belonging, and the opportunity to engage in challenging and interesting activities—positive experiences that are linked to positive long-term outcomes for youth. An evaluation of the Smart Moves drug and alcohol awareness program found positive effects of the presence of a Boys &

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Girls Club, including a lower incidence of crime and vandalism in that community (Schinke, Orlandi and Cole, 1992). An evaluation of an educational enhancement program run by local Boys & Girls Clubs found that youth who participated in the program showed improvements in their grades and educational engagement, as compared with Club youth who did not participate and to youth who attended after-school programs in public housing facilities (Schinke, Cole and Poulin, 1999).

The positive findings from previous evaluations suggest the potential for Boys & Girls Clubs to affect the lives of the youth they serve. To date, however, the evaluated programs have not served the population that the GPTTO or GITTO approaches are designed to reach. First, none of the earlier evaluations has been conducted with youth who were not already Boys & Girls Clubs members—and, as we noted, bringing new youth in is a central component of the GPTTO and GITTO philosophies. Thus, although the youth served by the Clubs and their programs in previous evaluations certainly had risk factors, the majority had found their way to the Clubs on their own. Second, GPTTO and GITTO recruit youth specifically because they have been observed to have risk factors associated with gang involvement and a gang lifestyle, and therefore have more risk factors than do their peers at the Boys & Girls Clubs.

Overview of Research Questions and Methodology

P/PV began its evaluation of GPTTO and GITTO in October 1997, with funding from the OJJDP and The Pinkerton Foundation. The goal of the evaluation was to examine the local Boys & Girls Clubs' implementation of the approaches at their Clubs. The primary focus of the evaluation is on Club achievement of their outreach, recruitment and youth outcome goals. The evaluation addresses four main questions:

- **Did the Clubs reach their intended population of youth?**
- **Did Clubs engage youth and provide them with positive developmental experiences?**
- **Did youth's participation in the Clubs play a positive role in and have the desired effects on their lives?**
- **How did Clubs accomplish their GPTTO and GITTO goals and what challenges did they face?**

Given the complexity of the GPTTO and GITTO models, the P/PV evaluation used multiple methods for gathering information:

- To learn about who the Clubs recruit and what aspects of a program's case management philosophy are tracked, the evaluators reviewed the Clubs' case management forms—an 8-page intake and a 10-page monthly tracking form.
- To discover how the youth change, evaluators administered a questionnaire to a sample of GPTTO and GITTO target youth when they were recruited and again approximately 12 months later.[6] They also surveyed a comparison group of youth who did not attend Clubs.
- To understand implementation issues and project costs at each Club, they also surveyed Club directors one year after the start of the evaluation; and
- To collect more in-depth information on operational and cost issues, they conducted interviews, held focus groups and collected on-site observation data from a sample of three Clubs utilizing the prevention approach and three that had developed an intervention approach.

Specific details about the how the target youth and the comparison youth were recruited for the surveys, their comparability and attrition rates over a one-year time period, the items and construct reliabilities of the measures utilized in this evaluation, and the analysis procedures are reported in the appendices.

At the start of the project, the evaluators held a meeting to solicit input from the Clubs operating GPTTO and GITTO on the data collection procedures that would be expected for the evaluation and the types of changes they expected to see in the youth over the course of a one-year period. Members of Boys & Girls Clubs of America's national advisory board for GPTTO and GITTO also attended the meeting and provided input on the project's design and data collection strategies.

Site Selection

The evaluation involved 21 Boys & Girls Clubs aimed at preventing gang involvement and three Clubs utilizing intervention strategies with gang-involved youth. BGCA selected the sites in Summer 1997,

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Table 1
Evaluation Clubs

GPTTO

Boys & Girls Clubs of Buffalo, Masten and John F. Beecher Units, Buffalo, New York
West End House Boys & Girls Club, Brighton, Massachusetts
Boys & Girls Club of Columbia, Blind Boone and Bear Creek Units, Columbia, Missouri
Boys & Girls Club of Albany Inc., Jefferson Street Unit, Albany, Georgia
Boys & Girls Club of the Gulf Coast Inc., East Biloxi Unit, Biloxi, Texas
Boys & Girls Club of Brazoria County, Clute, Texas
Boys & Girls Club of El Dorado, Arkansas
Columbia Park Boys & Girls Club, San Francisco, California
San Dieguito Boys & Girls Club, Griset and Lomas Sante Fe Branches, San Dieguito, California
Family Center Boys Club, Springfield, Massachusetts
The Children's Aid Society, New York City, New York
Boys & Girls Club of Manatee County, Bradenton Unit, Bradenton, Florida
Boys & Girls Club of Manatee County, Palmetto Unit, Palmetto, Florida
Salvation Army Boys & Girls Club, Magnolia and Newburg Units, Louisville, Kentucky
Clements Boys & Girls Club Exchange Unit, Killeen, Texas
Boys & Girls Club of Tustin, Main Branch, Tustin, California
Girls & Boys Club of Garden Grove, Boys & Girls Club of Garden Grove and Peters Unit, Garden Grove, California

GITTO

Boys & Girls Club of St. Paul, 'Gettin' Out Project, St. Paul, Minnesota
Boys & Girls Club of Greater Fort Worth, Comin' Up Project, Fort Worth, Texas
Boys & Girls Club of Ventura, Facing the Future Project, Ventura, California

through a competitive process. The Clubs are located all over the country (see Table 1 for Club names and locations).

It is important to note that GPTTO was *very new* to the Clubs at the point when the evaluation was commissioned and initiated. Nine Prevention Clubs were trained in the GPTTO philosophy in October 1996, *just one year prior* to the start of the evaluation; 12 Prevention Clubs were selected in October 1997, *simultaneous with* the start of the evaluation. The Clubs utilizing GITTO had developed their intervention strategies earlier. Two Clubs began using the intervention model in Fall 1994 and one in January 1997. Further, Clubs were responsible for recruiting 50 new prevention/35 new intervention youth, regardless of the number of youth they had recruited in the years prior to implementing GITTO/GPTTO.

Summary of Key Findings

As the report describes in detail, GPTTO and GITTO establish an ambitious agenda and emerge as promising approaches to reach and serve youth at high risk of and already involved in gangs. Indeed, one of the key successes of GPTTO and GITTO is that, despite the difficulty most out-of-school programs have in recruiting high-risk youth and teens, the Clubs reached a high-risk population of teens and kept them involved. And, importantly, youth experienced positive developmental supports and opportunities at the Clubs and derived a number of benefits from their participation over the course of one year, including fewer delinquent and gang-associated behaviors and more positive school experiences. Further, the findings from the evaluation yielded positive results for program participants at a relatively low incremental cost.

Along with identifying practices and policies that work well for Clubs, the evaluation uncovered a number of obstacles that may have kept the GPTTO and GITTO strategies from functioning to their full potential. Staff turnover was a major concern. Clubs found it challenging to keep the goals of the projects in sight and the relationships with youth and other agencies growing when staff in charge and working with the youth were leaving. Another concern was the difficulty Clubs had in keeping up with the documentation aspect of the strategy and designing new

programs that directly address youth's interests and needs at the same time. Nevertheless, the positive results for youth's participation in Clubs' existing programming are encouraging.

Finally, it must be noted that the definitiveness of the evaluation is limited by the nature of the comparison group, which was selected to match the target youth on race, gender, age and neighborhood, but was not as successfully matched on risk behaviors. Thus, although the examination of changes in behaviors over time provides guiding evidence of the effect GPTTO and GITTO can have on youth who participate, the results are not conclusive as to those outcomes that may be impacted by random assignment.

The Structure of the Report

Chapter II examines the first research question: "Did the Clubs reach their intended population of youth?" It details who the Clubs reached in terms of risk, age, gender and referral status. Chapter III explores the youth's experiences at the Clubs, describing the developmental supports they receive, along with their participation and retention rates and reasons for their engagement or lack of engagement. Chapter IV addresses the effect participation in GPTTO and GITTO had on the target youth's lives over the course of one year. Chapter V addresses the fourth research question—how the Clubs reached the youth and served them in the Clubs. In particular, Chapter V explores the practices that are most likely responsible for explaining youth's retention and experiences in the Clubs, and the positive effects GPTTO and GITTO have on the Clubs and their youth. Finally, Chapter VI summarizes the key findings and includes an assessment of how much these strategies cost.

II. Who Did the Clubs Reach and How?

In this chapter we address two questions:

- **How many youth did the Clubs recruit and where did they come from?** Clubs implementing GPTTO had a goal of recruiting 50 new youth at risk of gang membership. Clubs implementing GITTO had to reach 35 new youth. Clubs used many different methods to reach these at-risk and gang-affiliated youth.
- **Did the Clubs implementing GPTTO and GITTO reach the intended population of youth?** Clubs adopting the prevention approach targeted youth who either live in gang-infiltrated communities or communities that are ripe for gang activity. The targeted youth have displayed either characteristics that make them vulnerable to the appeal of gangs *or* "wannabe" behaviors. That is, while they are not official gang members, they may participate in some gang activities or be nominal gang members (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993). The intervention model was originally developed to serve youth who have demonstrated a gang lifestyle. However, two of the three GITTO Clubs in the study modified this approach, targeting instead youth who were at very high risk of gang involvement but were not necessarily hard-core gang members.

How Many Youth Did Clubs Reach and by What Means?

As part of their case management effort, Clubs were required to complete an intake form on every new youth brought into the Club as a result of the GPTTO/GITTO outreach efforts. On average, prevention programs recruited and submitted intake forms for 44 new GPTTO youth, 88 percent of their goal of 50 youth. Intervention programs were more successful. On average, they recruited 34 new GITTO youth, 97 percent of their goal of 35.

Table 2 (Recruitment by Month) shows the distribution of youth taken into the program by month.

On average, Clubs that recruited 44 or more youth required approximately eight months to reach the youth. This is in keeping with the program philosophy that suggests that Clubs bring in only about five new youth per month. This allows Club staff to support incoming target youth, who may have more

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Table 2

Recruitment by Month*

Month	Number of Youth for Whom Intake Forms Were Completed**			
	All Prevention Clubs Average Number (%)		All Intervention Clubs Average Number (%)	
November 1997 and before	1	(2%)	2	(6%)
December 1997	1	(2%)	0	(0%)
January 1998	3	(7%)	1	(3%)
February 1998	3	(7%)	5	(14%)
March1998	7	(16%)	11	(31%)
April 1998	7	(16%)	4	(11%)
May 1998	2	(4%)	0	(0%)
June 1998	2	(4%)	3	(9%)
July 1998	3	(7%)	1	(3%)
August 1998	2	(4%)	1	(3%)
September 1998	9	(20%)	5	(14%)
October 1998 and after	5	(11%)	2	(6%)

* Data based on the Intake Forms of 933 prevention and 103 intervention youth.
** All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Table 3

Recruitment Source of Target Youth*

Referral Source	Number of Youth from Referral Source**			
	Prevention Youth Average (%)		Intervention Youth Average (%)	
School	8	(18%)	6	(17%)
Parents or Relatives	12	(27%)	6	(17%)
Police	0	(0%)	2	(6%)
Probation	1	(2%)	2	(6%)
Juvenile Justice Agency	1	(2%)	1	(3%)
School Resource Officer	0	(0%)	0	(0%)
Mental Health	1	(2%)	0	(0%)
Social Services	0	(0%)	2	(6%)
Public Housing	1	(2%)	0	(0%)
Direct Outreach	15	(34%)	13	(37%)
Other Referral Source	1	(2%)	2	(6%)
Number of Intake Forms Missing Referral Information***	4	(9%)	1	(3%)

* Data based on the intake forms of 933 prevention and 103 intervention youth.
** All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.
*** Some intake forms did not specify the referral source of the youth, so they could not be included in the tally for any specific referral source. These forms are included in the total.

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needs than do typical Club members. It also assures that the culture of the Club does not change too rapidly with the influx of youth who may have more street ways than other Club members. Furthermore, Table 2 reveals that recruitment during the school year (September through June) proved more effective than did summer recruiting.

Club staff recorded recruitment methods on the youth's intake form. Table 3 (Recruitment Source of Target Youth) reveals that direct outreach—in which Club staff talked directly to appropriate youth and convinced them to come to the Boys & Girls Clubs—was the single most productive approach in both GPTTO and GITTO programs. About one-third of prevention youth and 37 percent of intervention youth were recruited this way.

Other GPTTO and GITTO youth came through referrals from parents, police, schools and probation. Following direct outreach, parent/relative referral was the second most popular way that target youth made it to the Clubs. Parents or other family members referred 27 percent of prevention and 17 percent of intervention youth. School referrals were also a popular mechanism to bring target youth into the Clubs, with 18 percent of prevention and 17 percent of intervention youth coming through school referrals. Police and probation officers referred 4 percent of prevention and 15 percent of intervention target youth.

It is important to remember that this overall snapshot of the models' recruitment strategies masks individual differences among Clubs. Some recruited many of their target youth from probation, whereas others used mainly direct outreach and parent referral. As we will see in Chapter V, effective strategies differed from Club to Club.

Did the Clubs Reach the Right Youth?

Previous research has shown that many factors predict gang membership among youth: neighborhood characteristics, such as living in a gang-infested neighborhood or social disorganization, including poverty and residential mobility; family characteristics, such as family members being in a gang, family stress and disorganization; school factors, such as academic failure, low educational aspirations and low commitment to school; negative peers and a low commitment to positive peers; and individual characteristics, such as low socio-economic status, not identifying with conventional adults or social institutions, delinquency, alcohol and drug use, and gun possession (Howell, 1998; Curry and Spergel, 1992; Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993; Esbensen et al., 1993; Hill et al., 1999; Curry and Spergel, 1988). Although no one factor makes a gang member, as these risk factors accumulate, youth become increasingly at risk of gang involvement (Spergel, 1995) and other negative outcomes (Furstenburg, 1993).

To weigh the accumulating negative effect of multiple risk factors as we assessed whether the Clubs had reached the youth they hoped to reach, we used a Gang Risk Profile (see Figure 1) designed by Irving Spergel to be useful for social service agencies' recruitment, referral and service purposes. The profile assigns a point value to a set of factors that have been found to be associated with gang involvement. Using data collected from surveys with the youth when they entered the Boys & Girls Club, we calculated a gang risk score for each of the GPTTO and GITTO youth based on this profile.

These gang risk scores for target youth reveal that Clubs implementing the GPTTO and GITTO approaches were indeed successful in getting youth at high risk for gang involvement into the Clubs. Almost two-thirds (64%) of prevention and almost all (94%) of intervention youth were at high risk (scored seven points or more) of becoming gang members.[7] But was the risk due to problems in one or another particular area (e.g., family, peers or school) or did target youth display a variety of factors that placed them at risk of becoming gang members? Below, we take a closer look at both the intervention and prevention target youth to determine where the greatest risk lies.

Individual Characteristics of Target Youth

Demographics

Nearly half (48%) of all prevention youth and 96 percent of intervention youth were teens (ages 13 years or older). Clubs recruited more males than females for both initiatives: 64 percent of the prevention youth were males and 74 percent of intervention youth were males. (See Table 4, Demographic Characteristics of Targeted Youth).

Figure 1

Gang Risk Factors*

A youth who obtains a score of 7 or more points based on the following risk factors is considered at high risk of gang involvement.

Risk Factor	Points Assigned
Gang Behavior	
• The youth exhibits gang signs and symbols and indicates that s/he identifies with a gang but does not yet claim s/he is a gang member, nor is s/he identified by others as such.	3
Family Issues	
• The youth comes from a highly distressed or crisis ridden family from a gang problem neighborhood.	2
• Youth from families where parents, brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles have been gang members.	3
Peers	
• Youth whose friends are gang members.	3
Youth Behavior	
• Youth with a record of delinquency.	2
• Youth who hangs out on the streets or in gang neighborhoods with friends who are not necessarily gang members at the time.	2
• Youth who does poorly in school.	1
• Youth who does not identify with conventional adults or organizations (such as church) or with agencies, such as Boys & Girls Clubs.	1
• The youth tends to act out, is isolated or has low level of self-esteem, especially in his/her pre-adolescent and early adolescent years.	1
Socio-Economic Status	
• Youth is a member of a low income family in a racially/ethnically segregated neighborhood.	2

* Adapted from Spergel.

The GPTTO and GITTO populations were low income. Of prevention youth, 78 percent qualified for free or reduced-price lunch, 25 percent lived in public housing, and 15 percent had no phone at the time that they were recruited into the Clubs. Intervention youth were faring about the same, with 72 percent qualifying for free or reduced-price lunch, 22 percent in public housing, and 17 percent with no phone.

Law Enforcement Involvement and Delinquent Activity

As Table 5 (Target Youth's Participation in Delinquent Activities at the Start of the Program) reveals, target youth recruited had, in many cases, demonstrated delinquent activity or had actually been involved with law enforcement or the juvenile justice system. Most notably, a quarter of prevention (24%) and more than half (58%) of intervention youth had been picked up by the police, 16 percent of prevention and 38 percent of intervention youth had been put on probation, and 12 percent of prevention and 28 percent of intervention youth had been placed in a juvenile facility by the court in the year just prior to joining the Club/Project. Further, almost one-fifth (18%) of prevention youth and almost half (45%) of intervention youth had carried a weapon in the year before they joined. Substance use was also an issue for

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Table 4

Demographic Characteristics of Targeted Youth*

At intake, the percentage of youth who are:	Prevention Youth	Intervention Youth
Male	64%	74%
9 years old	11%	0%
10 to 12 years old	42%	6%
13 to 15 years old	34%	42%
16 to 18 years old	14%	54%
African American	51%	32%
White	3%	6%
Hispanic	29%	26%
Asian	0%	24%
Other Race/Ethnicity	4%	12%
Receiving free or reduced-price lunch	78%	72%**
Living in public housing	25%	22%
With no working phone at home	15%	17%

* Demographic data are based on the intake forms of 933 prevention and 103 intervention youth. Free lunch, public housing and working phone information is based on 236 prevention and 66 intervention who completed baseline and follow-up interviews.

** Does not include youth who are not in school (10%).

Table 5

Target Youth's Participation in Delinquent Activities at the Start of the Program*

At intake, the percentage of target youth who have:	Prevention Youth	Intervention Youth
Damaged property that did not belong to them.	18%	34%
Broken into a building.	12%	22%
Hit someone.	73%	82%
Gotten drunk.	21%	48%
Smoked pot.	14%	45%
Used other drugs.	11%	32%
Carried or intended to use a weapon.	18%	45%
Been picked up by the police.	24%	58%
Been arrested.	15%	41%
Been on probation.	16%	38%
Been put in placement by the court.	12%	18%

* Data is based on the baseline surveys of 236 prevention youth and 66 intervention youth who also completed follow-up interviews.

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Table 6
Target Youth Gang Activity at the Start of the Program*

At intake, the percentage of target youth who have:	Prevention Youth	Intervention Youth
Hung out in the same place gang members do.	22%	73%
Worn gang colors on purpose.	21%	55%
Hung out with gang members.	23%	65%
Stolen things with gang members.	10%	30%
Flashed gang signs.	27%	50%
Attacked people in gang-related fights.	12%	42%
Been attacked in a gang-related fight.	13%	35%
Drunk alcohol or gotten high with gang members.	13%	36%
Vandalized things with gang members.	11%	27%

* Data is based on the baseline surveys of 236 prevention youth and 66 intervention youth who also completed follow-up interviews.

these youth. Table 5 also shows that 21 percent of prevention and 48 percent of intervention youth had gotten drunk in the year prior to their involvement in the Club; 14 percent of prevention and 45 percent of intervention youth had smoked pot in the year before their intake; and 11 percent of prevention and about one-third (32%)of intervention youth reported using other drugs to get high.

Gang Involvement

At the time youth joined a Club, 29 percent of prevention and 67 percent of intervention youth reported membership in a gang. Furthermore, as Table 6 (Target Youth Gang Activity at the Start of the Program) shows, 41 percent of prevention youth and 79 percent of intervention youth report committing at least one delinquent activity with gang members in the prior year.

Outside Activities and Supportive Adults

Perhaps surprisingly, given their risk level, the majority of both prevention and intervention youth were involved in multiple outside activities and had at least one supportive adult in their lives at the time they joined a Club (see Table 7, Outside Activities of Target Youth at the Start of the Program): 63 percent of prevention and 55 percent of intervention youth were involved in more than one activity other than the Club when they started. But there was also a significant portion of target youth, particularly intervention youth, who were not involved in any other activities at the time they joined a Club (17 percent of prevention and almost one-third of intervention youth).

Thirty percent of prevention and a little over half (54%) of intervention youth had worked at least once in the four weeks prior to coming to a Club. Eighteen percent of prevention youth and 41 percent of intervention youth had a "regular" job (at least once a week).

All intervention and all but one prevention youth reported that there was at least one supportive adult involved in their lives (see Appendix C for a description of this measure). In fact, 95 percent of intervention and 80 percent of prevention youth reported that four or more adults were supporting them in at least one area of their lives.

Neighborhood

Most of the Clubs implementing GPTTO and all those implementing GITTO recruit youth from neighborhoods where gangs are prevalent. Half of the Clubs that implemented the prevention model are located in the most intense gang area in their communities, 25 percent are on the border of the most intense gang area, and 25 percent are in the same community or neighborhood but at a distance from the most intense gang area.[8] All the intervention Clubs have facilities in the worst gang areas in their communities.

Youth's perceptions of gang activity in their neighborhoods concur with the Clubs' reports. Table 8 (Youth Reported Gang Activity in Neighborhood) reveals that more than half of intervention youth perceived that there was a lot of gang activity in their neighborhood and that there are problems because

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Table 7

Outside Activities of Target Youth at the Start of the Program*

At intake, the percentage of target youth who were involved in:	Prevention youth	Intervention youth
No other activity**	17%	32%
Only lessons	2%	0%
Only non-sport after-school activities	3%	0%
Only church activity	6%	9%
Only sports	6%	2%
Only some other activity	3%	3%
Involved in more than one activity	63%	55%

* Data is based on the baseline surveys of 236 prevention youth and 66 intervention youth who also completed follow-up interviews.
** Includes youth who were missing participation data on all activities.

Table 8

GPTTO and GITTO Youth Reported Gang Activity in Neighborhood*

At intake, the percentage of target youth who live in neighborhoods where:	Prevention youth	Intervention youth
There is a lot of gang activity.	33%	54%
The people who live on their street are gang members.	31%	39%
There is pressure to join gangs.	31%	21%
There are problems because of gangs.	46%	59%

* Data is based on the baseline surveys of 236 prevention youth and 66 intervention youth who also completed follow-up interviews.

of gangs. Many prevention youth also perceived gang problems in their neighborhoods: one-third of these youth believed that there was a lot of gang activity in their neighborhood and almost half (46%) perceived neighborhood problems were caused by gangs. Fifty-nine percent of prevention and 86 percent of intervention youth reported at least one sign of neighborhood gang activity.

Peers

Although youth involved in both GPTTO and GITTO reported having more positive peers than negative peers, youth involved in these programs also did not report being surrounded by only positive peers. On average, prevention youth reported that between "half" and "most" of their friends are positive, that is, they plan to go to college, make them feel good about themselves and do well in school.

Intervention youth reported slightly fewer positive peers; between "a few" and "about half" of their friends are involved in positive activities or have a positive educational outlook. Many of the youth reported that some of their friends do well in school (30 percent of prevention and 23 percent of intervention youth) or plan to go to college (47 percent of prevention and 17 percent of intervention youth).

On the other hand, some youth involved in the Clubs had peers who are involved in gang activities or are gang members. One-third of prevention youth and 59 percent of intervention youth reported having at least "a few" friends that get in gang fights. Thirty-one percent of prevention and 65 percent of intervention youth had at least one friend who is a member of a gang at the time of the survey.

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School

Many of the recruited youth displayed signs of school problems. When they joined the Clubs, 40 percent of prevention and 83 percent of intervention youth reported they had been suspended from school at least once. Thirty-eight percent of prevention youth and more than half (52%) of intervention youth reported at least one unexcused absence in the month prior to their enrollment. A quarter of prevention and one-third (34%) of intervention youth had cut class at least once in the four weeks before they entered the Clubs.

All prevention youth were enrolled in school. For intervention youth, however, 1 in 10 was not enrolled in school at the start of the program. Of those who had not dropped out of school, one-third of prevention youth (33%) and slightly fewer (31%) of intervention youth reported getting Cs or lower on their last report card. Overall, despite many GPTTO youth's acceptable grades, many of these youth were academically troubled.

Family and Stressful Life Events

Thirty percent of prevention youth and 65 percent of intervention youth reported they had family members who were current or past gang members. GPTTO and GITTO youth are also a highly mobile population: 59 percent of intervention youth had moved at least once in the two years prior to their enrollment in the Club/Project and 18 percent more than once. Prevention youth are even more mobile: 64 percent had moved at least once in the two years prior to joining a Club and 33 percent more than once. These youth's lives are also riddled with other stressors. Two-thirds of prevention youth and a little more than half (59%) of intervention youth experienced two or more stressful life events by the time of the 12-month follow-up, such as changing schools, a parent losing a job or getting a new one, illness or death of a loved one, or moving. At least 4 of every 10 target youth had a loved one die during this time period.

Summary

Given that the effect of negative risk factors seem to be cumulative, most GPTTO and GITTO youth are at high risk of gang involvement. Furthermore, some are already involved in gangs or are participating in gang activity. Many of these youth live in neighborhoods with gang problems, have behavioral or academic problems in school, have family members who are gang members, lead stressful family lives, and participate in delinquent and illegal activities.

Comparing GPTTO and GITTO youth to teens across the nation, it is clear that more GPTTO and GITTO youth have characteristics that place them at risk of gang involvement than the "typical" teen. Table 9 (Comparison of GPTTO and GITTO Youth to Youth Nationally on Select Characteristics) reveals that GPTTO and GITTO youth have higher levels of drinking, smoking pot, arrest and gang involvement than does the typical teen.

The proportion of teens recruited and served by the Clubs also represents a shift in focus for most Clubs. On average, 30 percent of the youth not recruited through GPTTO or GITTO at the Clubs involved in the evaluation were aged 13 years or older, compared with the 48 percent and 96 percent served through GPTTO and GITTO, respectively.

Most GPTTO youth came to the Clubs either through direct outreach to youth in local schools, street contact or special events. Many youth received referrals to the Clubs through their schools. Some came to the program as a requirement of their probation.

Now that we have seen that GPTTO and GITTO Clubs were indeed successful in recruiting a significant number of youth at high risk for gang involvement, we turn to exploring their participation and experiences at the Club. Do these high-risk youth come to the Club frequently and stay involved for a significant amount of time? What factors determine whether a youth participates or drops out? And, finally, what positive supports do target youth receive as a result of their participation?

Table 9

Comparison of Selected Cohorts* of GPTTO and GITTO Youth to Youth Nationally on Select Characteristics**

Area of interest	Prevention Youth	Intervention Youth	Youth Nationally
Percent who got drunk in the past year***			
8th graders	21%	17%	18%
10th graders	56%	65%	41%
12th graders	(no youth this grade in GPTTO sample)	50%	53%
Percent who smoked pot in the last year***			
8th graders	17%	17%	18%
10th graders	44%	65%	35%
12th graders	(no youth this grade in GPTTO sample)	43%	39%
Percent who were arrested in the past year'	15%	41%	4%
Percent who are gang members''	29%	67%	2% (of 12th graders)

* Cohorts were selected from the GPTTO and GITTO data to match the grade levels for which there were national statistics on behaviors.
** Prevention and intervention youth data is based on the baseline surveys of 236 prevention youth and 66 intervention youth who also completed follow-up interviews.
*** National data from the 1997 The Monitoring the Future Study
' National data from OJJDP.
'' National data from N.E.L.S.

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III. Youth's Experiences at the Clubs

In the previous chapter, we identified the population of youth reached by the GPTTO and GITTO efforts. In this chapter, we take a closer look at the youth's level of involvement in and their experiences at the Clubs/Projects.[9] The answers to the questions below are critical precursors to whether youth were participating with enough intensity and received the intended experiences necessary for the Clubs to have a significant impact on their lives. Specifically, we address three questions:

- **How involved were youth in the Clubs or Intervention Project?** One of the goals of both intervention and prevention efforts is to engage youth in a positive lifestyle as an alternative to that of gangs. In order for Clubs to have an effect of this magnitude, youth need to attend the Club or Project frequently and over an extended period of time.
- **To what extent were youth receiving positive supports through their involvement at the Clubs?** The Clubs take a youth development approach to intervention and prevention, striving to provide many of the same supports and opportunities youth seek through gangs: excitement, fun, caring adults, a sense of safety and a feeling of belonging within a peer group (Spergel, 1995; Vigil, 1988). Previous research has demonstrated the importance of and strong link between youth who receive these types of developmental experiences and future positive outcomes (see Gambone and Arbreton 1997 for a review).
- **Are youth's background characteristics or the supports they receive from the Clubs related to how involved they stay?** There are, of course, different levels of participation and engagement in any program. This question explores the factors that contributed to continuing involvement in the Clubs over one year's time.

How Involved were Youth?

As the data in Table 10 reveal, the majority of youth surveyed by the evaluators one year after they started at the Clubs[10] were still participating in Boys & Girls Club programming one year after their recruitment. **In fact, 73 percent of prevention and 68 percent of intervention youth had gone to the Club or Project at least once in the month before the 12-month follow-up survey.** Moreover, many of the target youth

Table 10
Target Youth's Club Attendance One Year After Joining*

Percentage of target youth who have:	Prevention Youth	Intervention Youth
Gone to the Club/Project in the past 4 weeks:		
not at all	27%	32%
1-2 times	12%	27%
about once a week	11%	12%
2-3 times a week	11%	9%
almost everyday	39%	12%
Never gone to the Club/Project	3%	23%

* Data is based on the baseline surveys of 236 prevention youth and 66 intervention youth who also completed follow-up interviews.

surveyed were attending the Club/Project frequently one year after intake. Specifically, half of all prevention youth and a quarter of all intervention youth reported that they were attending the Club/Project several times a week at follow-up.

Youth also seemed to be spending a significant amount of time at the Club during their visits. Ninety two percent of prevention and 75 percent of intervention youth reported spending more than one hour at the Club, on average, during their visits in the month prior to the follow-up survey. More than half of prevention (51%) and 15 percent of intervention youth stayed at the Club, on average, for more than three hours per visit.

As we saw in the last chapter, many of the youth recruited through GPTTO and GITTO are youth who are already involved or at high risk of involvement in the gang lifestyle—a way of life that puts its members at risk of committing crimes and violent acts, and puts their own lives at risk. A year after being introduced to the Club or program, half or more of these high-risk youth were still attending.

At a minimum, having high-risk youth involved in the Club for an extended period of time is a positive outcome. If youth are at the Club, they are involved in healthy activities and are not on the street, unsupervised.

What Did the Youth Experience?

Through their participation, target youth received important developmental supports that they may not have in other facets of their lives. Specifically, youth were provided with the support and guidance of caring adults and a sense of belonging, as well as challenging and interesting activities to hold their attention. These supports fit the description of what many youth seek through involvement with gangs. At the same time, research has shown that these supports contribute to a more positive life trajectory.

Adult Support and Guidance

Adult support is a critical component of successful development for youth. Young people need a sounding board for their thoughts and questions about family, peers and school. They need adult guidance when making decisions—how to get a job, how to handle conflict with adults and peers, what classes to take or what college to attend. Indeed, one of the most consistent findings in the research is the way that a positive adult role model can contribute to youth's successful transitions (e.g., Tierney and Grossman, 1995; Werner and Smith, 1982).

Because some youth look to gangs as surrogate families, the Targeted Outreach approach needs to surround youth with adult attention. Adults at the Club can also serve a more instrumental purpose by helping guide youth in decision-making and "getting on their case" if they are going off track.

Youth did feel supported by the adults at the Club/Project. Almost all youth (96 percent of prevention and 86 percent of intervention) reported receiving adult support and guidance from at least one Boys & Girls Club staff member on average. More than half reported that they received support from two or more staff people (79 percent of prevention and 53 percent of intervention). In another

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study of five Boys & Girls Clubs (Gambone and Arbreton, 1997), 73 percent of youth reported that they received adult support and guidance from Club staff. This may suggest that the GPTTO and GITTO approaches afford youth more individualized Club staff attention than received by other Club youth.

In addition to feeling supported, youth felt that the adults at the Club/Project know them well. Eighty-seven percent of prevention and 74 percent of intervention youth reported that there is at least one Boys & Girls Club staff member whom they feel knows them well. Many youth also have a favorite adult at the Club (86 percent of prevention and 57 percent of intervention youth).

Our discussions with target youth confirm this sentiment. For example, one girl said, "I come to the Boys & Girls Club when there is something that needs to be done, like tattoo removal or for this focus group. I have a close relationship with my caseworker, which began when I met her at Family Services."

This youth speaks to her caseworker at the Club on a daily basis and thinks of her as a "sister" because she understands and is there to talk to. Other youth also reported that they feel close to the Club staff and that they can go to them if they are having a problem.

Belonging

A sense of belonging is one draw of gang membership. Boys & Girls Clubs provide a parallel context—one in which adolescents can meet their need to be valued and be recognized by others for their accomplishments (Erickson, 1986). In order to pull youth away from gangs, Clubs must replace the sense of belonging that youth would otherwise get from gang membership with a sense of belonging at the Club.

For a majority of youth, the Club did become a place where they felt they belong—a comfortable place to hang out, where their ideas count and are listened to, where they are successful, comfortable and important. On average, 64 percent of prevention and 56 percent of intervention youth agreed or strongly agreed that they "belong" at the Club. One staff person at a Club implementing the targeted outreach approach stated it clearly: "This program helps these kids feel like they are part of something. They get a sense of belonging and family at the Club."

Interesting and Challenging Activities

Immersing youth in interesting and challenging activities is a cornerstone of the Clubs' youth development strategy. Youth turn to gangs for fun and excitement. Boys & Girls Clubs try to fill this need in the youth's lives by developing fun, exciting activities. Research confirmed the common sense assumption that when young people have activity choices that are attractive, accessible and affordable, and involve peers whom they value, they are more likely to participate (Hultsman, 1992; Medrich, 1991) and are, therefore, less likely to get involved in vandalism, drug use and other risk behaviors (Schinke, Orlandi and Cole, 1992). Over half (59%) of prevention and 35 percent of intervention youth reported that the Club or Project activities are interesting and challenging. Interestingly, this figure is lower than the proportion of youth feeling a sense of belonging and adult support from the Club.

In focus groups, intervention youth reported participating in tattoo removal, community service, sports, shooting pool, field trips, playing games and group meetings. The youth surveyed reported basketball and other sports as favorite Club activities. Shooting pool was also frequently cited. Specific methods Clubs used to provide activities designed to meet the interests and needs of the youth are described more fully in Chapter V and in the site description appendix.

Safety of Club

Youth's perceptions of safety at the Club are central to the success of GPTTO and GITTO. Clubs work to provide "safe havens" for youth in response to a growing need to protect them from increased violence and opportunities for dangerous behaviors (Pittman and Wright, 1991). When young people have a safe environment in which to participate in activities during critical gap periods—before and after school, on weekends, during school vacations and summers—they are less likely to have time to participate in the high-risk, unhealthy activities that can derail positive development (Panel on High Risk Youth, 1993; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992; Medrich, 1991). Youth must feel safe at the Club in order to facilitate their attendance and Clubs must remain safe for other members. In order to give the youth positive supports that they need to succeed and get out or stay out of a gang, the Club must offer a secure atmosphere, so that youth do not have to be concerned for safety.

Target youth reported that they felt safe at the Clubs. On a scale of 1 to 10 (where 10 is the most safe and 1 is the least safe), 86 percent of prevention youth rated Club safety at 8 or higher. On average, they rated the Club safety at 9.1. Intervention youth felt slightly less safe at the Club: 70 percent rated Club safety at 8 or higher, with an average rating of 8.4.

Both prevention and intervention youth rated the Club safer than their school. On a scale of 1 to 10, prevention youth rated the school 7.9 and the Club 9.1, on average. Intervention youth rated school 7.2 and the Club 8.4. One youth we interviewed went to a particularly unsafe school. He told us that he feels safe at the Club but not at school: "I've seen people with weapons [in school], and my cousin got shot in school."

Are there Systematic Differences Between the Level of Youth's Involvement at the Clubs and Their Backgrounds or Club Experiences?

Although we noted that many youth (68% to 74%) reported participating one year after recruitment, the remaining youth did not. What factors contributed to youth's ongoing participation? To answer this question, we looked at the association between youth's background characteristics (such as risk level upon entry to the Club, as well as their age, gender and ethnicity) and their involvement in the Club. We also examined how referral sources related to participation and whether the youth's Club experiences related to their level of involvement.

Youth Characteristics

Importantly, we found no significant differences in youth's race, gender or age as an indicator of their participation in either prevention or intervention Clubs. Gang risk factors, school grades and the number of socially supportive adults at baseline also did not relate to how often youth attend. Frequently, programs for high-risk youth cannot keep the youth who display the most at-risk characteristics. This is not true of the GPTTO and GITTO initiatives. Youth's gang-risk score was not related to participation. The Clubs that implemented these initiatives are not losing the kids who most need the support and diversion. Similarly, information obtained from the staff's monthly tracking forms revealed that the rate at which youth terminate from the program is the same regardless of the youth's gender and age.

Referral Source

Although Clubs cannot choose the ethnicity or age of youth who are at risk of gang involvement, they do have some control over how the youth come into the Club. Therefore, one question that seemed particularly relevant to Club implementation of GPTTO and GITTO is how the referral source related to youth's participation at the Club.

Using information from tracking forms, we examined whether the youth referred by different agencies (e.g., probation, schools, parents, direct outreach) were systematically different in retention rates, but found no evidence to this effect for either prevention or intervention youth. Dropping out of the program was not related to the particular referral source. The Club and Intervention project staff's special attention to the individual youth and efforts at tracking the youth's progress inside the Clubs—making sure they get hooked in to programs of interest to them and that meet their needs—are likely strong contributors to this finding (we discuss these aspects more fully in Chapter V).

Positive Supports

Positive supports have a strong relationship to participation for prevention youth. A sense of belonging, socially supportive adults at the Club, participation in challenging and interesting activities, adults who know the youth well, and Club safety all are related to prevention youth's participation. Prevention youth who feel a sense of belonging at the Club ($r=.28$, $p.0001$) and report that the adults at the Club are supportive ($r=.16$, $p05$), that the activities are interesting ($r=.23$, $p001$), that the Club is safe ($r=.22$, $p001$), and that adults at the Club knew them well ($r=.12$, $p.10$) have more frequent participation than do those who do not receive these supports at the Club.

For intervention youth, however, perception of the program and its staff are not a factor in explaining their program participation. Intervention youth are equally likely to participate, regardless of whether they feel a sense of belonging to the program, find its activities interesting, feel the adults are supportive, feel that the Club is safe or that project staff know them well.[11] In fact, we were unable to detect

any specific experience that would help explain participation rates for intervention target youth. Although we did not measure youth's perceptions that the Club was instrumental in helping them get out of the gang or stay out of the gang and therefore cannot conclude that this would relate to retention rates, it is possible that intervention youth stay connected to the program primarily out of an interest in getting this type of help.

We asked the target youth whether they had a favorite adult or activity at the Club and whether they would continue to attend if that adult or activity were no longer present. Of those with a favorite adult at the Club (86 percent of prevention and 57 percent of intervention youth), about one-fifth of both intervention and prevention youth indicated they would not come if their favorite adult left. In contrast, 12 percent of prevention, but 35 percent of intervention youth, would stop going if their favorite activity ended. Sports were cited as the favorite activity of more than half the youth who would leave the program if their favorite activity ended. At follow-up, 16 percent of prevention and 21 percent of intervention youth revealed that they do not plan to attend the Club in the future, primarily because they were either too busy (26 percent for prevention and 33 percent for intervention) or bored (18 percent and 25 percent for prevention and intervention, respectively).

Summary

The GPTTO and GITTO approaches are succeeding in keeping high-risk youth involved. Presumably, through this involvement, target youth are getting many positive developmental supports. They feel supported by adults at the Club and have a sense of belonging. To a lesser degree, they feel that the activities at the Club are interesting and challenging, and feel safer at the Clubs than they do at school.

Providing these developmental supports may keep these youth involved in the Club. The data indicate that this may be true, especially for prevention youth. Prevention youth who planned to continue at the Club after one year of attending had significantly higher scores on developmental supports. They reported a stronger sense of belonging, more adult support, engaging in more challenging and interesting activities, a stronger sense of Club safety, and that more adults at the Club know them well than did youth who do not plan to return to the Club. This was not true for intervention youth. Although survey data did not indicate what keeps an intervention youth attracted to the Club, it is likely that the program itself, along with instrumental help with jobs, substance use, tattoo removal, etc., may be the driving force that keeps these youth returning. Factors and examples are described more fully in Chapter V.

This chapter shows only that youth are receiving supports critical to their healthy development as a result of involvement in the Club or program. In the next chapter, we take the analysis of the program a step further to see how participation in the program actually affects youth. Do youth who participate more often have more positive outcomes? Do they do better in school? Do they participate in fewer gang and delinquent activities? Do they find their way out of or stay out of gangs?

IV. What Difference Does Participation in the Clubs/Projects Make in the Lives of Target Youth?

As we saw in the last chapter, most youth are engaged and having a positive experience in the Clubs. A majority of youth attend the Clubs (or have contact with Club staff) for at least a year and were still participating regularly at the 12-month follow-up. Given the difficulty of attracting older and higher-risk youth into out-of-school programs, this is a major first step of the process. Ultimately, however, funders and practitioners care about whether the programs make a difference in the lives of the youth served. To address this question, we asked the youth to complete questionnaires when they joined the Boys & Girls Club and again approximately 12 months later, whether they were still participants or not (see Appendix B for response rates at follow-up). The final sample of treatment youth consisted of 66 GITTO youth and 236 GPTTO youth who completed both the pre- and post-surveys.

The youth questionnaire at baseline and follow-up focused on four main outcome areas, determined in concert with practitioners who used the GPTTO and GITTO strategies as well as in consultation with researchers who have studied gangs and delinquency. We strove to identify outcomes that could be expected to change over one year's time. The areas are:

- Relationship behaviors (e.g., negative conflict resolution, positive relationships with family, relationships with a positive peer group);
- Positive use of leisure time (e.g., engagement in positive after-school activities, leadership roles);
- School behaviors (e.g., expectations to graduate, school grades, skipping school and cutting classes, getting suspended, working on homework and valuing school);
- Delinquent behaviors (e.g., stealing, drinking, using illegal substances, vandalizing, getting caught for illegal actions); and
- Gang behaviors (e.g., hanging out with a negative group of peers, associating with and engaging in delinquent and aggressive behaviors with gang members, belonging to a gang).

In addition to assessing increases in positive achievements and behaviors and decreases in negative behaviors over time, we also examined whether GPTTO Clubs' efforts were effective at keeping youth who had not yet engaged in certain delinquent or gang behaviors at the beginning of the evaluation

from initiating them over the course of one year. Appendix C lists all outcome variables and methods of measurement.

To understand whether changes in youth behaviors over the course of one year could be attributed to GPTTO and GITTO rather than to maturation or other factors, we also interviewed comparison groups of youth who were not enrolled in the Clubs. We conducted interviews with the prevention youth comparison group at nearby schools and at other youth-serving organizations. The intervention youth comparison group interviews were conducted with the help of probation officers and school personnel at alternative high schools serving youth who had been suspended or expelled from mainstream schools.

The comparison group youth were selected to have demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity) similar to those of the GPTTO and GITTO youth and were recruited from the same or similar neighborhoods. Our matching efforts were less successful when it came to less observable characteristics, such as risk factors and gang and delinquent behaviors. As Table B.1 in Appendix B shows, the youth served by the prevention Clubs came to the Club having *already engaged significantly more in almost every delinquent and gang behavior measured and faring more poorly at school than had their comparison group who did NOT participate in Clubs.* The youth served by the intervention Clubs were more similar to their comparison group, although the intervention youth were more likely to belong to a gang and to do poorly in school and less likely to carry a weapon, skip school and steal than their comparison group.

Because of the differences in risk between the GPTTO and GITTO youth and their respective comparison groups, simple comparisons of outcomes between the two groups over time would not be appropriate. Thus, we analyzed the data taking into account statistically the risk factors that might contribute to positive or negative outcomes.[12] In all of our analyses to assess change over time, we examined youth served in the prevention Clubs separately from those served in the intervention Clubs because the characteristics of the youth served and the strategies used to serve them are different by design.

We found that in spite of their differences at baseline (i.e., prevention target youth displaying more risk factors), GPTTO and GITTO youth fare better than their comparison group over the course of the year on a number of school and relationship measures. Appendix D summarizes the results comparing target youth to comparison youth on all measures. The significant results are:[13]

- Prevention—GPTTO youth show a decrease in smoking pot;+ are less likely to cut class,* are more likely to have sought an adult or teacher for help with completing school work** and show an increase in the number of after-school activities in which they participated compared with comparison youth.* However, GPTTO youth also display an increase in the number of school suspensions*** over the course of the evaluation year than do comparison youth (possibly because they are cutting school less frequently).
- Intervention—GITTO youth show a decrease in cutting class,*** and skipping school,* spend more time on homework,+ and show an increase in positive family relationships* compared with comparison youth over one year's time.

The above analysis examined the average effect on participants, regardless of how much they participated. Another way of looking at the effect of the Clubs' efforts on outcomes is to examine whether youth who attend the Clubs or Projects *more frequently* fare better than those who attend less frequently. Thus, we conducted additional analyses that took into account how involved the youth was in the Club over the course of the year.

The results of this second set of analyses show that more involvement in the Clubs is associated with positive outcomes for both GPTTO and GITTO youth.[14] These effects of participation, along with those offered earlier, provide evidence of the potential of the program to show increased positive effects over time. The results of these analyses on all measures assessed are presented in Appendix D. The significant findings are summarized below:

More frequent GPTTO Club attendance is associated with the following positive outcomes:

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- Delayed onset of one gang behavior (less likelihood of *starting* to wear gang colors*);
- Less contact with the juvenile justice system (less likely to be sent away by the court+);
- Fewer delinquent behaviors (stealing less,+ and less likelihood of *starting* to smoke pot+);
- Improved school outcomes (higher grades+ and greater valuing of doing well in school+); and
- More positive social relationships and productive use of out-of-school time (engaging in more positive after-school activities+ and increased levels of positive peer* and family relationships*).

More frequent attendance among GITTO youth is associated with the following positive outcomes:

- Disengagement from gang-associated behaviors and peers (less stealing with gang members,* wearing gang colors,+ flashing gang signals,*** hanging at the same place as gang members,* being a victim of a gang attack,+ and having fewer negative peers+);
- Less contact with the juvenile just system (lower incidences of being sent away by the court**); and
- More positive school engagement (greater expectations of graduating from high school or receiving a GED*).

Although these findings are consistent with the assumption that participation in the Club improved attitudes and behavior, it is also consistent with the hypothesis that the more motivated youth participated more. Thus, we cannot rule out that some of the estimated improvement could be due to unobservable characteristics, such as motivation or parent involvement in the youth's life, rather than due to their participation. Nevertheless, these findings are consistent with the fact that prevention and intervention strategies have the potential to work well with the youth who are engaged.

Were Clubs More Effective with Some Youth than Others?

One of the questions of concern to Clubs' staff was whether some groups of youth are being served more effectively than others. Certainly, the above results indicate that those youth who *participate the most* are also receiving the most benefits. We also examined whether the outcomes differed for boys compared with girls or for youth of different ages.

Gender Differences

In both prevention and intervention programs, we found that youth of both genders respond similarly to GITTO and GPTTO. We do note, however, that many fewer girls are being served.

Age Differences

Older youth are harder to reach with after-school programs (Sipe and Ma, 1998). They are interested in being with their peers, hanging out on the streets and getting jobs. Nevertheless, GPTTO and GITTO recruitment efforts drew in these youth. As we saw in Chapter II, GPTTO and GITTO youth are more likely to be teens than the average Boys & Girls Club participant, particularly GITTO youth. Are there any implications of the age of youth on the effect of either GPTTO or GITTO? Overall, there are few differences by age for either GPTTO or GITTO, but several did emerge.

For GPTTO youth, we compared the effect of participation on each of the outcomes for three different age groups: 9 to 12, 13 to 15, 16 to 18. Two additional positive findings and two negative findings emerged for the older age groups. Greater levels of participation for youth aged 16 to 18 are associated with increased levels of adult support and an increased sense of school efficacy (youth's confidence in his or her ability to do difficult school work). We also found that the positive effect of participation on school grades is stronger for 13- to 15-year-olds than for the other age groups. On the other hand, 16- to 18-year-old GPTTO youth who attended more frequently also showed an increase over the year in the number of negative peers with whom they spent time, and GPTTO youth aged 13 to 15 who participated more frequently were also more likely to be a victim of a gang attack.[15]

Given the small number of younger youth in GITTO, we compared two groups of youth—those aged 10 to 13 and those 14 to 18—to look for any differences by age in the effect of participation. What emerged are some additional positive findings, but only for youth in the younger age group. For GITTO youth aged 10 to 13 only, more frequent attendance was associated with:

Table 11

Change in Reported Gang Membership Over a 12-Month Period

Percentage of youth who:	Prevention			Intervention		
	Comparison	Target	Overall	Comparison	Target	Overall
Join a Gang	8%	5%	7%	13%	12%	13%
Stay in Gang	4%	4%	4%	11%	22%	17%
Stay out of Gang	67%	62%	65%	49%	31%	39%
Leave a Gang	21%	28%	24%	27%	34%	31%
Total Number in Sample	188	204	392	45	58	103

Note: There are no statistically significant differences among groups.

- Less substance use with gang members,
- Fewer number of delinquent behaviors overall,
- Higher valuing of school,
- Spending more time on homework, and
- More positive family relationships.

It is important to point out that increased levels of participation did not have a negative effect for the 14- to 18-year-olds; rather, there is no effect for more frequent attendance by the older group on these measures. What we do not know, however, is whether a duration of longer than one year in the program might have a positive effect for older youth on this set of outcomes as well. The negative behaviors displayed by older youth may be more entrenched in their lifestyle and may take longer than one year to significantly change.

What Were the Effects on Gang Involvement?

In the analyses discussed above, we examined whether participants are more or less likely than comparison youth to join or leave gangs; however, we found no differences between the two groups in those rates. We also found no relationship between how frequently the youth attend the Club and whether they join or leave a gang, although we did see differences in reductions of gang behaviors, as noted above.

The rates of joining and leaving a gang, as well as remaining in a gang or out of a gang, for GPTTO and GITTO youth, versus their respective comparison groups, are illustrated in Table 11. Although we did not see a difference between participants and comparison youth on these specific variables, as noted earlier in this chapter we did find a reduction in gang and delinquent behaviors that may be important precursors to youth's disengaging or dissociating entirely from their gang peers. This would be consistent with the goals of two of the intervention Clubs, where staff and collaborating agencies emphasized that they do not expect the youth to leave the gang, which could be dangerous, and because they are aligned in their neighborhoods with certain gangs for life. Rather, staff at these Clubs emphasized that they are striving to instill in youth more positive values and alternatives to the gang lifestyle.

What Do These Results Tell Us?

The findings reported in this section show the effects on youth's lives of one year's participation in GPTTO and GITTO. Taken together, these results provide an indication of the positive effect involvement in GPTTO and GITTO can have on youth. The findings are stronger for intervention youth than prevention youth. Being more effective among youth who already exhibit problem behaviors, namely gang association and delinquency, is surprising since youth programs are typically better at deterring the initiation of bad behavior than changing an established pattern. However, the GITTO projects had been in existence longer and therefore had more time to develop their programs and intervention strategies; whereas the GPTTO Clubs were only in their second year of implementation. Further, it may have helped that the target youth identified for GITTO fit a more narrowly defined range of youth and, therefore, the intervention can take a more focused approach.

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The findings comparing participants with comparison youth are stronger for school-related behaviors than for delinquent and gang-related behaviors. Importantly, however, the fact that greater participation in Clubs is associated with fewer delinquent and gang behaviors lends support to the ability of the Club efforts to make a difference with those they can keep in attendance. As we saw in the last chapter, prevention youth who attend consistently feel a sense of belonging, find more staff supportive, and find the activities interesting and challenging.

The next chapter explores how GPTTO and GITTO worked, what they did with the youth and how they did it, the challenges they faced and their successful implementation strategies.

V. What Did Clubs Do? GPTTO and GITTO Strategies and Challenges

Clubs succeeded at reaching their target youth and keeping them involved, regardless of age, gender or previous engagement in risky behaviors. Youth who participated fared well over one year's time. How did the Clubs do it and how can other organizations learn from the experiences of the 21 Clubs that implemented GPTTO and the three Clubs that implemented GITTO? What strategies worked? What challenges did the Clubs experience?

In this chapter, we consider each of the initiative components (i.e., community mobilization, recruitment, programming/mainstreaming and case management) more fully. We also discuss what impeded and encouraged Clubs' successes in different areas. In each section, where the GPTTO approach and philosophy differed from GITTO's, we examine them separately.

It is important to emphasize that the prevention Clubs were in the very first stages of implementation as the evaluation began. As we have noted in other evaluations and our work in the field, many programs take three to five years to become fully implemented and effective (see Walker and Grossman, 1999). Thus, certain operational challenges should be seen as those relating to the early development of the Clubs' approaches.

Community Mobilization: Developing Partnerships with Outside Agencies

Community mobilization efforts can serve multiple purposes. GPTTO and GITTO brought agencies together around a common mission—preventing and intervening against youth's involvement in gangs, which helped to draw attention to the gang problem in these communities. In addition, by establishing a network of agencies, the Clubs made other agencies aware of the their willingness to engage and serve youth who are active in or show signs of gang involvement—a population of youth that lack services in many communities. As a result, other agencies could refer youth to the Clubs. In turn, the network allowed the Clubs to refer youth to agencies that are experienced in providing many of the services youth need, such as health, counseling, employment and social services.

Contact with Collaborating Agencies

The network of agencies with which Clubs collaborated in implementing GPTTO and GITTO was extensive. Figure 2 shows the frequency with which the prevention Clubs contacted different organizations. In general, Clubs had the most frequent contact with schools and families—all but two Clubs noted at least monthly contact, and 5 and 7 Clubs noted daily contact with schools and families, respectively. We also gathered data to assess the extent to which prevention Clubs showed an increase in the frequency of contact they had after implementing GPTTO.[16] Indeed, 19 of the 21 prevention Clubs noted an increase in contact with at least one agency. The greatest number of Clubs (12 of 21) saw the most increase in contact with the police. The Clubs indicated that they received and followed up on referrals from the police, in addition to obtaining tracking information on youth and receiving general information about crime rates and gangs statistics. Just under half of the Clubs (10 of 21) noted an increase in the frequency of contact they had with schools and counseling services, although the other half of the Clubs reported already having had those relationships in place.

Fourteen of 21 Clubs attributed this increase to newly established contacts with outside agencies. The total number of new contacts these 14 prevention Clubs established ranged from one to five, with an average of three new outside agency contacts per Club. The greatest number of Clubs (7 of 21) established new relationships with probation agencies.

Figure 3 displays the contacts intervention Clubs had with outside agencies. For intervention Clubs, collaboration with outside agencies was essential to getting the projects off the ground. For example, one project developed in conjunction with the local police; another project evolved from a city, county and local law enforcement effort to deal with a rash of gang shootings; the third was a product of meetings between the Club and a local judge wishing to provide an alternative to traditional probation. Figure 3 clearly indicates that contact with outside agencies was an integral piece of the intervention strategies, and this reflects the difference in population the intervention Clubs served. All three intervention Clubs had contact with each agency at least quarterly.

Advantages and Challenges of Establishing and Maintaining Partner Relationships

Interagency collaboration is integral to the Clubs' ability to recruit and monitor youth. When the relationships develop and work well, Clubs and collaborators see multiple benefits to the partnerships. During visits to intervention and prevention sites, we interviewed representatives from partner agencies and heard about the advantages each saw. The partner agencies had begun to view the Club as a resource for them and a place to help youth who often fall between the cracks. One advantage noted by a provider at an intervention Club was that the relationship between the staff and youth made it easier for her to engage the youth's trust.

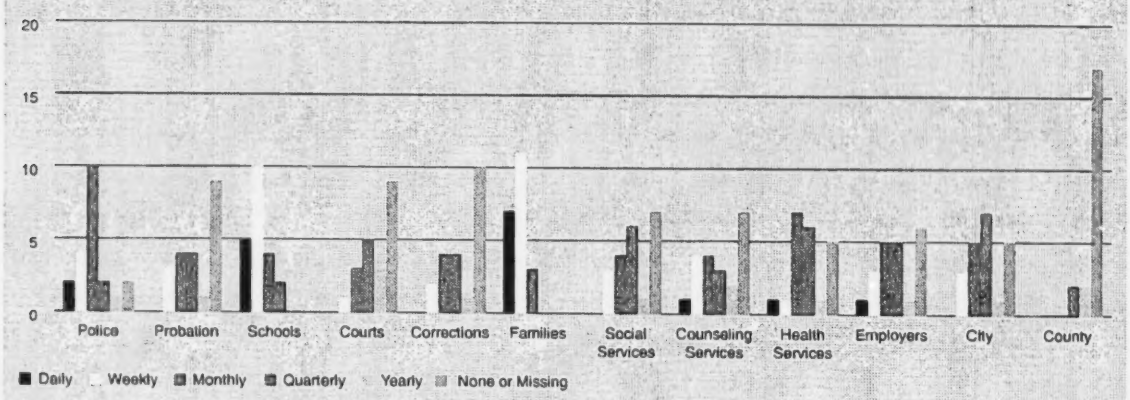
Additionally, the provider noted that the collaborative made it easier for the agencies to "wrap" the services around the youth, rather than expect the youth to be able to get transportation to multiple needed services, such as for job training, GED, and drug and alcohol treatment. At this and other Clubs, service providers came on site to work with youth.

The Club's facility and the fact that the programming was primarily place-based provided multiple opportunities for integration and cooperative provision of services. For example, at one prevention Club, as a result of the relationship that developed between probation and the Club, a probation officer used Club space during the day for an alternative high school program. Youth in the alternative high school were then encouraged to participate in Club activities and eventually join.

Police officers and probation officers also valued the time they spent at Clubs, talking to Club staff. For example, several probation officers in different cities said they would often drop by the Club to play basketball with the youth. Probation officers also found it helpful to be able to get in touch with the youth at the Club or find information about where they might find the youth. Additionally, a probation officer with whom we spoke in one intervention program indicated that the Club became a place where younger youth can fulfill their community service hours and, at the same time, fit in. At Clubs with strong relationships with probation or police, Club staff are best able to track whether youth are getting into trouble. These Clubs also typically tend to reach more GPTTO youth who had already had contact with the justice system.

Figure 2

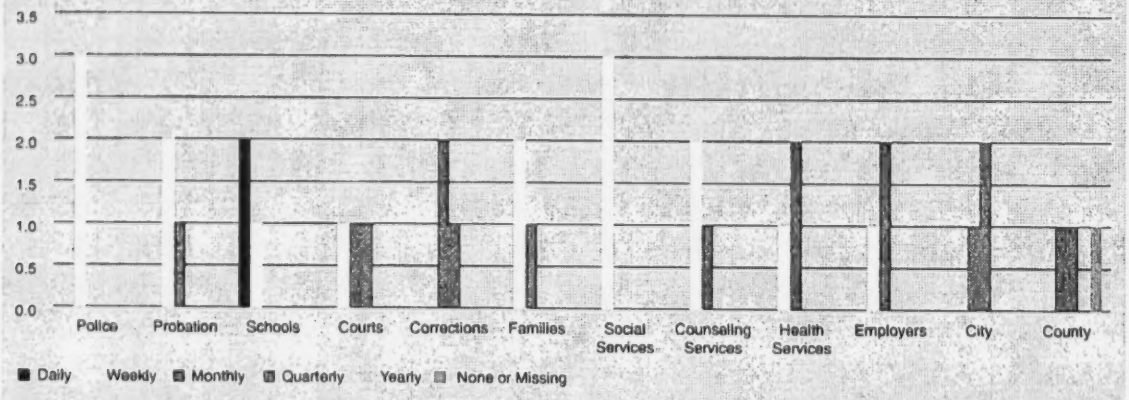
Frequency of Contacts with Outside Agencies—Prevention Clubs



Note: 21 prevention clubs.

Figure 3

Frequency of Contacts with Outside Agencies—Intervention Clubs



Note: 3 intervention clubs.

Clubs had varying experiences trying to engage schools in collaboration and referrals. At one Club where the relationship between the schools and the Club was solid, the relationships became even stronger because the Club employs teachers as after-school instructors, and former Club staff are teachers at nearby schools. In another city, a middle school principal expressed her positive response to the Club staff's willingness to spend time at the school over the lunch hour and hang out with the youth in the lunch room and school yard. She felt that by doing so, they helped the youth and the teachers to be more aware of what the Clubs could offer and how they could help the teachers. Not surprisingly, at Clubs where the buy-in of the local schools is greatest, the Club staff's ability to follow up on youth's progress at school and identify educational areas of need are also greatest.

Responsiveness to the Clubs from any of these outside agencies took time to build. One Club indicated it spent a year reaching out to multiple agencies with little response. At the start of their second year of GPTTO, the Club focused on fewer agencies and was subsequently able to build a solid relationship with probation that is leading to new referrals.

Relationships between partner agencies and the Clubs not only take time to establish, they also require ongoing maintenance. Staff turnover at the partner agencies is a key obstacle to maintaining relationships. Partner agencies felt keeping staff at their agency familiar with the program would help improve the Clubs' effectiveness. Partner agency staff felt that they would benefit from at least a yearly presentation so that the word about GPTTO and GITTO would be transmitted effectively to new staff. In order to maximize the potential for the relationship to produce referrals and partnerships, training sessions and contact with organizations should occur more frequently than yearly.

The establishment of a network of partnerships with other agencies is a prerequisite to success in recruitment and outreach, particularly with regard to referrals both into and out of the Club. The next section describes the recruitment process.

Recruitment

The Clubs' existing recruitment efforts (i.e., word of mouth, membership drives) would not have been sufficient to reach the youth intended for GPTTO and GITTO. Youth most at risk of gang involvement or hard-core gang members are not likely to walk through the doors of the Club on their own (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993). Thus, the Clubs involved in the initiative had to make special efforts to identify appropriate youth and entice them into the Club.

To identify and recruit youth at risk of gang involvement and those who are already gang members, BGCA recommends two general approaches. The first is direct outreach, which typically consists of Club staff getting to know youth outside the Club and encouraging them to join. The second is recruiting youth via referrals, which requires developing strong ties with community agencies and organizations that can direct youth to Clubs and their staff. Clubs utilizing GPTTO and GITTO used both methods of recruitment.

Direct Outreach

As noted in Chapter II, 35 percent of the prevention and 29 percent of the intervention target youth were recruited through direct outreach. The proportions ranged from 0 percent to 83 percent among prevention Clubs and 0 percent to 60 percent among intervention Clubs. All Clubs, however, attempted to recruit through direct outreach, with varying success for different methods.

Direct outreach at schools appeared to be one of the more effective methods. Five Clubs noted that going to schools, hanging out there and passing out flyers—with the approval of school administrators—helped them identify youth and attract their interest. Even though these efforts took place on school grounds, we can consider them to be direct outreach because they did not involve teacher referrals.

Six Clubs noted the importance of having an outreach coordinator who visits schools, goes to parks and other youth hangouts and visits youth homes. Several Clubs hired members of the local community with whom families and youth felt comfortable.

One intervention Club identified their process for making direct outreach work most effectively with their other program goals and administrative needs. This Club hired local staff members who grew up in the community and were former gang members. These staff knew how to deal with gang youth and were good at bringing them into the Club. However, these staff often had little experience with or formal training in administration and were less effective in running the program within the Club. Thus, in the early stages of the project's development (several years prior to the start of the evaluation), youth were drinking, doing drugs and wearing gang colors in the Club. Currently, this Club continues to hire community outreach workers who have experience with gangs as outreach specialists; but a project coordinator, who has more administrative experience, supervises the outreach workers. With this structure in place, the staff can define strict rules about Club behavior and dress, and ensure that the "gang mentality" is left at the door.

Other direct outreach methods that three Clubs mentioned as effective were holding special events and open houses at the Club. Along similar lines, two Clubs indicated that attending community events was a good way to connect with youth and families and let people know about the services Clubs provide.

Clubs found several strategies to be consistently ineffective: mailing brochures, providing coupons for free visits to the Club and sending out flyers to the local schools. None of these strategies generated much response. When these strategies were accompanied by follow-up visits and face-to-face contact, however, they worked much better.

Referrals

The second method by which Clubs recruit GPTTO and GITTO youth is through referrals from community agencies and organizations. As described earlier, Clubs formed different partnerships through their community mobilization efforts. In Chapter II, we reported the proportion of youth referred to the Clubs by different agencies. Table 12 (Source of GPTTO and GITTO Youth) expands that information to illustrate the range across the Clubs.

Referral agency staff mentioned the importance to them of being kept informed about how the youth they referred were doing at the Club. They also mentioned that it was helpful to be able to visit the Club and learn more about GPTTO or GITTO and how it functions.

Factors Related to Successful Recruitment of the Target Number of Youth

When we compared information about prevention Clubs that recruited more and fewer than the average number of youth, several things stood out. First, those that recruited 44 or more youth were more likely to have access to Club vans for transportation. Obviously, vans make transportation to and from the Club easier and help youth avoid having to walk through dangerous areas. Also, Clubs with vans frequently used them for field trips, and teens tend to be attracted by opportunities to go to new and different places and events. Second, when asked about effective strategies for working with high-risk teens, Clubs that had recruited more youth were also more likely than the others to rate "building relationships between youth and staff" as their number one strategy. Finally, Clubs that were in their second year of implementation, on average, recruited fewer new youth than did those just initiating the program. Second-year Clubs found it difficult to recruit a new group of 50 youth after recruiting 50 youth just one year earlier.

The one intervention Club that did not meet its target number of new recruits suffered a fire set by a local youth; the Club needed to close its facility for the summer and could not accommodate new youth in the limited space available.

Interest and Needs-Based Programming and Mainstreaming

One of the GPTTO and GITTO goals is to learn youth's interests and then build on those interests to develop strong one-on-one relationships between staff and target youth. Using interest-based activities as a base to draw the youth in, staff learn to strengthen or enhance their programs by building in components that will address the youth's needs. For example, the youth might be interested in basketball and need to develop conflict resolution skills. Thus, the staff running the basketball program could integrate a conflict

Table 12

Source of GPTTO and GITTO Youth

Prevention Clubs (n=21)

Source of Target Youth	What was the lowest percent of target youth referred to a Club?	What was the highest percent of target youth referred to a Club?	What were the average and median percent of target youth referred to a Club?
Direct Outreach	0	83	35/39
Juvenile Justice (police, probation, courts)	0	16	3/0
School	0	89	18/8
Parents	0	82	27/27

Intervention Clubs (n=3)

Source of Target Youth	What was the lowest percent of target youth referred to a Club?	What was the highest percent of target youth referred to a Club?	What were the average and median percent of target youth referred to a Club?
Direct Outreach	0	60	29/28
Justice (police, probation, courts)	2	58	24/11
School	7	35	22/23
Parents	6	26	15/12

resolution component into the basketball activity instead of asking the youth to attend a separate conflict resolution program.

In essence, to fully engage these youth, staff needed to make sure that youth got involved in programming that met their interests. Additionally, however, the philosophy assumes that if Clubs cannot identify youth's needs and address them, gangs will fill those gaps. If Club activities are not interesting and engaging, the youth will not stay involved.

To ensure that staff met the needs of the youth and addressed them through appealing, engaging activities, staff had to complete a program plan for each target youth brought into the Club. The program plan helps the staff think about the youth's interests and needs, identify existing programs that are appropriate for the youth or discover if there is a need to create new programming. From the documentation we received, we found that slightly more than half the Clubs (54%) created a program plan and made suggestions for youth to participate in combined interest/needs-based programming over the course of the evaluation year. Furthermore, subsequent documentation that tracked youth's participation in combined interest/needs-based programming indicated that just over one-quarter (28%) of tracked youth continued to participate in interests/needs-based programming four months after intake.

Our site visit interviews with staff, along with phone conversations during the course of the evaluation, confirmed that developing interest-based programs that address the needs of youth at the same time is very difficult for several reasons. A number of Clubs had hired program staff after the training sessions had taken place and therefore these staff were not trained in the needs/interests-based programming component of the model. Other Clubs used a rotating

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method, in which all youth rotated through specific activities. This approach worked well for mainstreaming youth, but made it difficult to try new programs. Youth at these sites engaged in interest and needs-based activities, but they were separate. For example, they might participate in basketball and later get involved in an educational program at the Club.

Interests and Needs at the Intervention Clubs

The intervention programs use different "hooks" to draw the youth into their programs, identify their interests and address their needs. For example, one program offers tattoo removal, a benefit for a youth trying to leave a gang, as tattoos can be off-putting for potential employers. Youth donate community service hours to show their commitment to the initiative. Another program uses recreational activities during evening and night hours to attract youth.

Once a Club "draws youth in" and builds relationships with the youth, the staff slowly try to "wrap" resources, services and supports around the new recruits. Services include on-site GED classes, services by representatives from drug and alcohol abuse clinics, and numerous job skill development and training programs. Clubs must also pay careful attention to the order in which the Club provided youth with services. At first, the youth wanted to focus on employment training and job placement. But then, they found that youth would arrive at the job and fail the drug tests. A third intervention approach, based on a strong partnership with the probation department and an alternative school, succeeded at attracting youth by providing options to traditional probation. The youth are allowed to attend life skills and job skills programming at the Club. Although the "hooks" are different, all of the intervention Clubs utilize skilled project staff to uncover the interests and needs of the youth in order to help them follow a positive trajectory.

The intervention Clubs provide extensive services for the youth. Club staff are available by beeper to meet the youth's needs at all times of day. They provide transportation for the youth, e.g., taking them to court docket dates, meeting with their families, taking them to job interviews or making sure they show up at a job. One participating youth asked a staff member to be her birthing coach when she had a baby.

Employment is a big part of all intervention programs. Issues addressed include job skills training, programs such as Weed and Seed, and such challenges as how to get potential employers to give these youth a chance, how to get the youth to the jobs and following up to ensure they were prepared. In addition to tattoos, employment obstacles included tickets for traffic violations, fighting, drinking, truancy and curfew violation. One Club established a night court specifically for target youth who have accumulated tickets. Youth plead guilty and then do community service to give back to the Club. The youth's record is then clean. Establishing this process also avoided having police come into the Club to make arrests, which would destroy trust.

In sum, though we found few examples of programs that *integrated* interests and needs, Clubs provide youth with opportunities of both types. And, as we saw in Chapter III, many target youth were still attending the program even 12 months after they started, and deriving benefits from their participation. What we cannot say is whether the effects of participation in the Clubs could be made stronger if full implementation of integrated interests/needs-based programming were achieved.

Case Management: Intake and Tracking

The fourth component of the GPTTO and GITTO models is case management. Upon a target youth's entry into the Club, staff complete an intake form noting parent contact, known gang risk factors, referral source, school contact information, juvenile justice information, the youth's needs (e.g., literacy, health, conflict resolution skills) and interests, and a program plan based on combined interests and needs. Then, every month staff track youth providing written documentation on their contact with the youth's family; their identification of new risk factors; juvenile justice involvement; school attendance, behavior and grades; and Club attendance and achievements. In addition to tracking the youth's behavior, staff are also asked to document the youth's participation in interests/needs-based programming; whether the youth is getting hooked up to staff, peers and activities at the Club; and the number of referrals to outside agencies.[17]

Case management, including completing an intake form when the youth starts and tracking the youth's monthly progress, is very different from the typical Boys & Girls Club procedure. Although our earlier work with Boys & Girls Clubs indicated that staff are generally aware of and "watch out" for youth who participate in their area's activities, there is usually no formal mechanism for keeping in touch with youth outside their program area or outside the Club (Gambone and Arbreton, 1997). The intention behind "tracking" youth and their progress in GPTTO and GITTO is to ensure that Club staff are helping build youth strengths and meet the needs they might otherwise turn to the gang lifestyle to fulfill. Also, by paying attention to how the youth is doing in other domains of his or her life (e.g., at school, at home and, if necessary, in contact with the justice system), the staff member tries to communicate to the youth that a number of people care about them and their activities. Finally, documentation of youth's progress is encouraged as an important indicator of how well the initiatives are working for the target youth.

Case Management in Prevention Clubs

The GPTTO prevention model suggests that case management responsibilities be divided among staff members, a procedure with multiple potential benefits. First, case management and its paperwork are time consuming, and dividing it among staff leaves more time for staff to interact with youth and run programs. Second, this system allows a youth to hook up with a staff person with whom they might be most likely to engage. For example, if the youth is interested in art, the art director might be the most appropriate person to track the youth, who is likely spending the most time in the art room and developing a strong relationship with staff there. Dividing up the responsibilities for tracking may also potentially keep the program running more smoothly in light of the continual staff turnover that Clubs face. If one person tracks all the GPTTO youth and builds relationships with them, and that person leaves, many of the target youth might also leave if they have not bonded with other staff members.

Clubs divided the responsibilities for tracking in different ways. About one-third of the prevention Clubs used 2 to 3 staff members for case management, one-third used 4 to 7 and one-third used 8 to 10. Five Clubs reported that the best way to ensure the quality of tracking, programming and documentation was not only to divide the tracking responsibilities among program staff, but to assign one person as the overall program coordinator, who would be responsible for overseeing and coordinating all paperwork and case management. Thus, the staff working with the youth in the program area where the youth spent time were kept informed about the youth, but a central "Targeted Outreach Coordinator" completed and filed the paperwork. In five of the Clubs where this structure was not utilized, the evaluation contact person indicated that he or she thought additional funding to support a Targeted Outreach Coordinator would benefit the youth and the Club.

Case Management in Intervention Clubs

Case management took a different form in the intervention Clubs, where youth are part of a separate project with designated staff (in contrast to prevention Clubs, where GPTTO responsibilities are just one of many). One intervention Club utilized outreach coordinators responsible for recruiting, case managing and completing paperwork for approximately 10 to 30 youth each. Another intervention Club relied on two program staff, one in each of two program settings, to case manage and complete documentation on approximately 8 to 10 youth each. One intervention Club assigned a case manager to complete the intake and tracking on the 35 youth who were part of the evaluation; however, four months into the evaluation, funding allocated specifically for the position ended and, thereafter, no tracking forms were completed (at that site, program coordinators at each of eight locations were responsible for documentation on 25 youth as part of requirements for a city grant; however, these 200 youth were not necessarily in the P/PV evaluation).

Monthly Tracking Challenges

Case managers' completion of monthly tracking forms was not uniform for all youth and decreased over the 12 months of the program. Four and eight months after intake, Club staff submitted tracking forms on about three-quarters (78% and 74%, respectively) of the GPTTO youth and about half (55% and 53%, respectively) of the GITTO youth originally enrolled in the program. One year after intake, staff completed tracking forms for 62 percent of GPTTO and 46 percent of GITTO youth.

The level of detail requested on the tracking form was a challenge for the staff. They were asked to provide very specific information about school behaviors and grades (e.g., exact grades and attendance); contact with justice (e.g., police warnings, court dates) and Club behaviors (e.g., frequency of attendance, types of programs in which they participated). Not surprisingly, staff were most likely to provide information on the youth's Club attendance and experiences and least likely to have checked on whether the youth had contact with the justice system. School information was monitored for about half the target youth. Whether the Club felt tracking in an area, such as school or justice, was important and worth noting largely depended on whether they had been able to forge a relationship with those institutions in a way that would allow them to collect the information.

Another challenge to accurate tracking and documenting of youth was the high rate of staff turnover at the Clubs. Only one intervention Club and two prevention Clubs did not have staff turnover of key people involved with GPTTO or GITTO during the course of the evaluation (e.g., case manager, project director, targeted outreach coordinator). At every other Club, however, there was at least one incidence of staff turnover. These high rates of staff turnover led to lapses in tracking and incomplete information for several reasons. Either no staff person was there to gather the information or a new staff member needed time to develop relationships not only with the youth, but also with school and justice personnel.

As a result of staff turnover, as many as one half of the staff members tracking youth had yet to receive any formal training in program philosophy. Many of these staff from the GPTTO Clubs regarded the tracking forms as primarily of interest to and useful for the evaluation, rather than understanding the relevance of documentation for helping the staff work with the youth. In part, their position on the tracking forms may have stemmed from the fact that the start of the evaluation and initiation of GPTTO at their Clubs were simultaneous.

We do not know the cause of the high rates of turnover, as it occurred among both part-time and full-time staff. Two Clubs attributed it specifically to part-time college students receiving better positions, and one Club experienced turnover among their case managers before it raised the pay rate from $7 to $8 an hour.

Eight Clubs that experienced turnover of key staff (ranging from two to seven key staff per club in such positions as case manager, project director and targeted outreach coordinator) noted the same three results of staff leaving: a dramatic effect on continuity of project efforts, including building and maintaining relationships with partner agencies and consistency of programming; the need to re-establish bonding and trust that had been built between youth and staff; and the need for new training.

Although Club staff found the documentation component time consuming and challenging, they also found benefits—including increased knowledge about the youth and how he or she was doing—which they felt built a strong connection between themselves and the youth. Club leadership at several Clubs also reported on the benefits of keeping documentation when they approached or were approached to work with county or city programs that needed to have paperwork and documentation on the youth, as well as in the Clubs' fundraising efforts. One executive director said, "Because we had the paperwork established, we were in a good position to show the police department that we were a credible agency that could effectively work with the truancy reduction and court diversion program."

Summary and Considerations

Gang Prevention through Targeted Outreach and Gang Intervention through Targeted Outreach are, in design, different from other Boys & Girls Club programs in their comprehensiveness and scope. Clubs that implement GPTTO or GITTO are attempting to mobilize their communities, work with outside agencies, recruit high-risk youth, integrate youth into programs that meet the youth's specific interests and needs, and follow up with individuals in different areas of their lives. As such, the process of implementation takes time, energy, effort and responsiveness on the part of other agencies. It also takes a lot of training and indoctrination for programming and case management implementation and, as such, is aided by having continuity of staff and buy-in from the top-level organizational staff.

The advantages of the initiatives outweigh the challenges. Although Clubs had difficulty keeping up with the paperwork and staff turnover made it difficult to sustain continuity, most Clubs found value in

tracking the youth and seeing their progress. They found that this type of follow-up helped them to develop closer relationships with the youth involved. In addition, several Clubs felt that implementation of GPTTO in particular helped their agency go from being seen by others exclusively as a recreation facility to being an agency known for providing intervention/prevention services in their community.

VI. Summary and Conclusion

This evaluation looked at two initiatives developed by Boys & Girls Clubs of America and local Clubs. One initiative was designed to help youth stay out of the gang lifestyle—Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach. The other was designed to help gang-involved youth change their negative behaviors and values—Gang Intervention Through Targeted Outreach. In spite of challenges to the implementation of GPTTO and GITTO, the overarching philosophy of building relationships and establishing a place where youth feel they belong and are safe appears to be paying off. The Clubs are reaching the youth whom they set out to reach and keeping them involved. One year into their tenure at the Clubs, youth are deriving positive developmental benefits and showing some indications of positive changes in gang, delinquent, school and relationship behaviors, and attitudes.

This chapter summarizes the key findings in relation to the four major research questions asked at the beginning of this report. It also introduces an analysis of how much Clubs spent to implement GPTTO and GITTO for one year. Final thoughts on what these results mean for other initiatives are discussed.

By Utilizing Club Staff Time Outside of the Club for Direct Outreach and Building a Network of Referral Agencies, Clubs Reached a High-Risk Population of Youth that is Typically Underserved

Prevention Clubs drew in a significant number of new youth (on average, 44 youth) who were at high risk of gang involvement based on indicators such as their level of association with negative peers, poor academic histories, and prior involvement in illegal and delinquent activities. Intervention Clubs were also successful in attracting new youth (34, on average), a majority of whom were already gang members or were demonstrating gang behaviors.

Comparisons of the risk factors (e.g., delinquent behaviors) of both prevention and intervention youth to other national studies of youth show that the Clubs are reaching youth with considerable needs. These youth are also older, on average, than are the typical Club or youth-serving organization participant (48 percent of prevention and 96 percent

of intervention youth are aged 13 or older in comparison with 30 percent, the club population that were not included in the initiative). And, for both initiatives, these are youth who may not have made it to the Club by themselves. Given that older and higher-risk youth rarely participate in youth organizations, this is a significant accomplishment. Interestingly, in spite of their risk factors, many of the youth also reported protective factors, such as supportive adults in their lives and positive peers.

Clubs recruited many of these youth through direct outreach strategies. Staff would spend time outside of the Club interacting with youth on school grounds, in neighborhood parks, on the streets and other gang hangouts. Using current staff and hiring new staff from the youth's communities helped build a tie to the youth and draw them in. Establishing relationships with police and probation, letting them know that the Clubs are willing to serve the gang-affiliated youth and educating them about GPTTO and GITTO (including documentation) helped encourage outside agencies to refer the hard-to-reach youth.

Clubs Kept a Majority of Youth Involved Over a One-Year Period and Provided Important Developmental Experiences to Them

Even given the high-risk characteristics of the youth that can make them difficult to attract and keep interested, a majority of youth (73 percent and 68 percent for prevention and intervention youth, respectively) reported they were still attending the Clubs/Projects[18] one year after they were initially recruited. In addition, attendance rates were high: 50 percent of prevention and 21 percent of intervention youth surveyed reported having been to the Clubs/Projects *several times per week* in the month prior to the follow-up interview. These levels of retention and participation are difficult to achieve with any youth or teen, let alone with youth who have been engaging in high-risk behaviors.

Not only did they attend, but target youth experienced many youth development practices critical to healthy development. Almost all youth (96 percent of prevention and 86 percent of intervention) reported receiving adult support and guidance (such as help in an emergency, an individual with whom they could talk and on whom they could rely) from at least one Boys & Girls Club staff (with 79 percent and 53 percent, respectively, reporting that there are two or more Boys & Girls Club staff from whom they received support). A majority of youth agreed or strongly agreed that they feel a sense of belonging to the Club (64 percent of prevention and 56 percent of intervention); and 59 percent of prevention target youth and 35 percent of intervention target youth reported that the Club activities are interesting and challenging.

Most target youth also perceived the Club as "safe." On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being safest, 86 percent of prevention and 70 percent of intervention youth rated the Club at 8 or higher. In contrast, only 64 percent of prevention and 43 percent of intervention youth rated their schools as this safe. These experiences, which are critical to successful youth development, are experiences these youth may not be exposed to in other realms of their lives and, without the Club, may have sought through gang involvement.

Participation in GPTTO and GITTO Improved Youth's Outcomes Over a One-Year Period

Although the comparison group presented fewer delinquent and gang behaviors at the outset of the evaluation, thus limiting our ability to make strict claims about the effectiveness of GPTTO or GITTO, the results of our analyses of the survey data suggest that participation had a positive effect on youth's behaviors by the end of one year. According to surveys completed by youth at the end of a one-year period, both intervention and prevention youth who attended the Clubs or Project showed decreases in some gang and delinquent behaviors and were less likely to be sent away by court. They also exhibited positive changes in their engagement or achievements in school. Finally, they developed more positive relationships and prevention youth began to engage in more productive out-of-school activities.

Full Implementation of the Four Components of GPTTO and GITTO was Challenging, But Provided Benefits to Clubs and Youth

Clubs developed new relationships with outside agencies and strengthened their level of contact with agencies with whom they were already in contact. Clubs found that even though the relationships with

outside agencies were sometimes slow to develop, once they developed, they offered multiple benefits. These relationships allowed the Clubs to receive referrals and also provided settings for direct outreach in recruiting youth.

The documentation process, although time consuming, led to increased contact with the youth and knowledge about how they were doing in the different domains of their lives. This level of contact with the youth may be a factor in why youth in GPTTO and GITTO reported such high levels of adult support from Club staff. Clubs that maintained documentation found that they were in a good position to show the credibility of their project and work with youth, going beyond just being a recreation facility.

At What Cost?

Costs to society associated with gang suppression include police time, graffiti removal, court fees and protective services, plus the non-monetary negative of the fear of being out on the streets and the loss of lives from gang-aggressive acts and interactions. A 1998 study estimated the total costs to society of allowing one youth to leave high school for a life of crime and drug abuse to be somewhere between $1.7 and $2.3 million (Cohen, 1998). For the youth's four years as a juvenile, the study estimated the criminal justice costs at $21,000 to $84,000. In contrast, investment in deterring a youth from or reducing youth's involvement in gangs can save a substantial amount of taxpayer money and community stress, both in the short and long term.

What would be the cost of supporting more Clubs to implement GPTTO or GITTO initiatives at their facilities? This evaluation did not include a cost study, so we cannot precisely document the annual cost of supporting Club services for additional target youth. However, we did ask Clubs to provide their budgets for October 1997 to September 1998 and thus have some information on their direct expenses for that year. Building their programs from an initial $4,000 in seed money for prevention and $15,000 for intervention received from OJJDP through BGCA,[19] prevention programs raised additional funds ranging from $3,000 to $46,000, and intervention programs raised from $22,000 to more than $1 million to cover the costs of one year of implementation. As depicted in Table 13, taking into account the number of youth served, the average cost of adding on GPTTO/GITTO for one GPTTO target youth was $340, for GITTO youth, $1,889. However, half the GPTTO Clubs spent less than $282 per youth in direct funding.

It is important to keep in mind that *these are direct costs and do not include resources spent on Club operating expenses or management, facility upkeep or maintenance, or the in-kind contributions of Club staff and collaborating agencies.* Thus, $340 for prevention and $1,889 for intervention are not the total costs but should be considered the *incremental costs* for adding services to new youth. The relatively low figures mark the advantage and efficiency of using established agencies and enhancing their services to reach these harder-to-reach youth.

The main costs for both GPTTO and GITTO were for staff salaries (generally one half or more of the expenses). Staff time taken up by GPTTO or GITTO responsibilities was devoted to outreach, to spending time in settings outside the Club to build partnerships and referral relationships, and to completing the paperwork for the program. And, although the outreach and recruitment efforts, networking time and case management approach utilized by the Clubs implementing GPTTO and GITTO can be costly, these costs can be contained by the volume of youth already served by the Clubs and the facilities already in place.

Even if the full cost of implementing GPTTO or GITTO were twice as large as these incremental costs, they are minimal in relation to the amount society would otherwise spend on gang suppression and incarceration for these youth. The cost is also relatively low, considering the challenges associated with reaching and serving this high-risk population of youth, the level of the youth's engagement and the alternative cost to society of juvenile gang involvement, crime and delinquency. In sum, the cost of the initiative appears worth the benefits accrued to youth and the potential for savings over the long term.

Final Thoughts

Although this evaluation was launched with specific questions pertaining to GPTTO's and GITTO's effectiveness in recruiting, serving and helping high-risk

Table 13

Cost Summary of GPTTO and GITTO

	Prevention Club	Intervention Project
Cost per Additional Youth*		
Range	$73 - $1,070	$1,048 - $2,667
Median	$282	$1,052
Average	$340	$1,889
GPTTO or GITTO Budget		
Range	$4,000 - $50,000	$37,000 - $1,052,000
Median	$14,100	$240,000
Average	$17,649	$443,242
Number of Active GPTTO and GITTO Youth**		
Range	37 - 78	36 - 1,000
Median	50	90
Average	52	375

* Does not include in-kind expenses. Figures are based on 19 GPTTO and 3 GITTO Clubs responding to questions about their budgets.

** This denotation of active is particularly important for one GITTO project, where youth are counted active only if they have participated eight or more times in a month. Another 1,000 youth are served but participate less frequently.

youth, the findings have much broader implications. The positive results of this study provide answers to more general questions about working with high-risk youth.

First, we found evidence that high-risk youth and teens can be reached and drawn in by programming and opportunities that are not greatly specialized, such as recreational activities, a place to hang out and supportive staff. That Clubs are able to reach older youth (into their mid-teens) and higher-risk youth indicates that teens and youth who have been in trouble are not unamenable to being involved in these types of conventional activities. The key factors appear to be active outreach and recruitment, which require time and support on the part of the staff to help the youth become fully integrated and "hooked" in to the full range of activities the Clubs have to offer.

Second, we saw that reaching these high-risk youth is achievable by a mainstream youth-serving institution, and does not have to be created from the ground up. Clubs were able to build staff buy-in to reach out to these youth and to draw them in to their existing Club services (prevention) or create alternative projects to enhance the likelihood of attracting gang members or youth highly associated with the gang lifestyle (intervention). Clubs were also able to build relationships with community agencies—such as law enforcement and schools—that were integral to the success of the initiatives.

Third, we saw important advantages to building these initiatives within existing organizations. Clubs can achieve the goals of the GPTTO and GITTO initiatives at a reasonable, incremental cost per youth, in large part because they can build on their existing resources, including facilities, staff, management and infrastructure, and the history and experience Boys & Girls Clubs have working with youth.

Although youth at high risk for gang involvement or those already involved in gangs have typically been viewed as "throw aways," and are often underserved by after-school programs, the Boys & Girls Clubs involved in this initiative have shown that effective prevention and intervention strategies can be developed. This study has yielded important information on how existing organizations can begin to work with these youth.

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Endnotes

1 It is important to note that staff of two Intervention projects indicated that they do not necessarily expect the youth in the project to leave the gang because such a move could be dangerous in the neighborhoods where members align with certain gangs for life. Rather, staff strive to instill more positive values and alternatives to the gang lifestyle.

2 The questionnaire was administered at baseline and follow-up in all three Clubs utilizing an intervention approach and in seven of the nine prevention Clubs who were in their second year of implementation. The seven prevention Clubs chosen were in their *second* year of implementing the program and recruited and administered questionnaires to a minimum of 23 newly enrolling youth.

3 Intervention youth are involved in the intervention projects, which operate separately from the regular Boys & Girls Club. They were asked specifically about their attendance in the project, not the Club.

4 The level of significance of each of the findings is marked after each statement. P-values of + p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01 are reported. The smaller the p-value, the greater the confidence that the finding is not just by chance.

5 It is important to point our that staff of two Intervention projects indicated that they do not expect the youth to leave the gang, which could be dangerous, and because they are aligned in their neighborhoods and with certain gangs for life. Rather, staff are striving to instill more positive values and alternatives to the gang lifestyle.

6 Evaluators administered the questionnaire at baseline and follow-up in all three Clubs utilizing an intervention approach and in seven of the nine prevention Clubs that were in their second year of implementation. The seven prevention Clubs chosen were in their second year of implementing GPTTO and had recruited and administered questionnaires to a minimum of 23 newly enrolling youth.

7 The scores were calculated using information from the baseline survey across 236 prevention and 66 intervention youth who also completed the follow-up surveys.

8 Based on data collected from an Organizational Survey of GPTTO and GITTO Clubs.

9 Clubs adopting the intervention approach use models that are separate projects administered by the Club. Those projects have specific names (e.g., Getting Out, Comin' Up, Facing the Future). Therefore, on the follow-up survey, when intervention youth were asked about their participation, the interviewer referred to the specific project name. Thus, all references to participation by intervention youth are actually reflective of their participation in the Project, not in the regular Club activities.

10 Response rates at follow-up were 81 percent of prevention and 77 percent of intervention youth. Youth were asked to complete a survey even if they no longer attended the Club or project. Details on response rates and attrition are provided in the Appendix.

11 This is not to say, however, that there were no program factors that are related to intervention youths' participation. There may be other factors, ones not measured in this study, that relate to greater participation for intervention youth. It is safe to say, however, that the program factors related to increased attendance at the Club for prevention youth are not ones that seem to be associated with the participation of intervention youth.

12 For all analyses over time, we used statistical regression and took into account youth's age, gender and ethnicity, their gang risk factor score, a life stress score, their level of participation in other after-school activities, the level of supportive adults they reported and their intake report on the behavior of interest. In the first set of analyses, we examined whether the variable indicating treatment was statistically significant; in the second set of analyses, we examined whether a variable for participation in the Clubs was significant. See Appendix D for more detail on how we conducted the analyses.

13 We highlight only effects that are statistically significant at a .10 level of confidence. The findings are marked +p<.10, *p<.05, and **p<.01 in the text to show the strength of the statistical relationship.

14 We did not detect any specific "tipping" point or level of frequency of attendance at which there was a more significant effect on outcomes than at any other point. Increased days youth attended the Club were associated with significant changes in the outcomes.

15 We are not able to discern, with the data available, why these negative results might have occurred for the older age group.

16 The intervention Clubs were asked only about their projects' current contacts with outside agencies; therefore, we cannot report on change.

17 Intake and tracking forms are a component of GPTTO and GTTO philosophies. During the course of the evaluation, Clubs forwarded the completed forms to BGCA and P/PV.

18 Intervention youth are involved in the intervention projects, which operate separately from the regular Boys & Girls Club. They were asked specifically about their attendance in the project, not the Club.

19 OJJDP continued to provide additional funds to Clubs in year two of the evaluation and currently provides a two-year commitment to Clubs that take on GPTTO or GITTO. The figures cited in the text comprise the budgets Clubs reported as of October 1998, for one year of Targeted Outreach.

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Appendix A
Descriptions of Sample Sites

In May and June 1998, two P/PV researchers visited three Gang Intervention Through Targeted Outreach sites. In October 1998, two P/PV researchers visited three Boys & Girls Clubs implementing Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach.

On the site visits, we interviewed staff directly involved in the projects and other staff who participated indirectly through their involvement at the Clubs. We also asked the Clubs to identify their partner agencies and conducted individual interviews with representatives of those agencies.

Each project is unique, serving a population different from those of other sites and working with different partner agencies. In the following descriptions of each Club, we begin with an overall view of the initiative and goals. Next, we examine the gang problem in the area, as it was described to us during interviews, and provide a brief history of how the project was initiated and developed. In the remaining sections, we describe how the sites recruited youth—the staffing; intake and tracking processes; the programming and services provided to youth; and changes that the Clubs made to accommodate the initiative. Because the intervention projects have their own unique philosophies and approaches, each description starts with a general project overview.

The information in this section presents a picture of each initiative at the time of P/PV's visit in 1998.

Boys and Girls Club of Greater Fort Worth: "Comin' Up"

Project Overview

The Comin' Up Gang Intervention Program was described as a collaborative effort by the city, the courts, the police and other service providers to combat the problem of gang violence. The program operates from eight facilities—two of which are Boys & Girls Clubs and six of which are city parks and recreation facilities. All are located in different high crime and violence areas of the city. Comin' Up provides interest-based recreational activities, late hours and a safe place to hang out, all of which draw youth to the program. Once youth are drawn in, they develop relationships with the staff, who provide encouragement and incentives to participate in the nonrecreational programming provided, such as job skills and placement, drug abuse treatment, AIDS awareness classes, nonviolence training, and GED or educational courses.

Goals

The Comin' Up program is a collaborative community effort with an overarching goal of decreasing the extent of gang violence in the Fort Worth area. Under this overall goal are nine specific goals and objectives:

- To identify gang members in need of the program's services;
- To provide extended services to involve 100 gang-involved youth at each of eight facilities;
- To target 25 gang members at each site for more intense case management and service provision;
- To assess the needs and interests of youth and develop specific plans of action to meet their needs;
- To provide needs-focused services directly through the project as well as through a network of collaborating agencies;
- To refer family members to appropriate services;
- To establish relationships and respect between youth from different gangs;
- To employ program participants to serve as part-time community outreach workers; and
- To support positive interaction between and among rival gangs.

Comin' Up *does not try to get the youth to leave the gang*, rather, the initiative focuses on redirecting the youth toward positive behaviors and goal-setting in the areas of education, employment, nonviolent interaction, and reducing drug and alcohol abuse. All staff, literature and outside agency representatives agreed on these basic goals.

Gang Problem in Ft. Worth

At the time of our visit in June 1998, the executive director described the gangs in Fort Worth as being primarily territorial, with a few drug-related gangs. He estimated that there were approximately 3,000 members. Drive-by shootings prior to the start of the intervention project (i.e., prior to 1994) occurred about once a week.

The youth who are part of the evaluation are from two of Comin' Up's eight facilities in the Greater Fort Worth area. One of the intervention facilities (Fireside) is a recreation center dominated by one large Hispanic gang, the VC. This gang is very territorial and most members get involved because it operates where they grow up and commonly stay as adults. The program director described this gang as more territorial than violent. The other facility (Como) is a recreation center in a neighborhood with identifiable boundaries. There is one gang in the area, the Crips.

History and Development of the Initiative

In 1991, an independent group was established to look at the gang issue in Tarrant County (in which Fort Worth is located). A 200-member volunteer task force convened to examine prevention, intervention and suppression strategies. Ten committees were established and soon made specific recommendations, published in a 1991 report. The City of Fort Worth hired someone to coordinate implementation of the task force's strategies in late 1992. The concern at that time was to do something about Intervention, since they felt that suppression and prevention efforts were already in place.

In 1993, a group of youth organizations, churches and other community service providers was established to start a dialogue with gang members who were locked up at the time. They indicated that what gang members out on the street needed were jobs, education, job training and drug counseling. The group responded that all those things were already available, but the gang members said, "Yeah, but not to us." They emphasized the "social distance" between the educators and the gangs. "What gang members need," they said, "Are services from 'peer' counselors."

On a summer Sunday morning in 1994, three youth were killed in a drive-by shooting. The city manager, the director of parks, police officers and ministers met for three days to figure out what to do. They came to the conclusion that they needed to provide special facilities and staff to address the problems of these youth. The Boys and Girls Club Executive Director was approached to lead the effort because Boys & Girls Clubs were already known for the services of Gang Prevention through Targeted Outreach. From these efforts the Comin' Up project emerged.

When the program first started it was challenged by local community members who did not like the idea of a program run by outsiders. To address these challenges, Clubs emphasized that part of the program model would be to employ people from the community as outreach workers.

The first staff hired knew a lot about dealing with gang youth, but were not as competent in terms of administration. They were able to draw the youth in, but youth were drinking and doing drugs in the facility, as well as wearing gang colors and bringing the gang mentality in and claiming the Club. Although Comin' Up was getting the youth off the streets and the city was beginning to see a decrease in gang violence, the project was not achieving the goals of changing youth's values and behaviors. Thus, they moved to the current staffing model: the facility supervisors, called program coordinators, are college educated, but have life experience in the communities and experience with gang-associated youth. The Program Coordinators supervise the outreach workers. Over time, rules have been better defined as well, so that the gang mentality is left at the door.

One cautionary note repeated by Club staff and outside agencies was that developing the project called for patience. They reported it took six months to a year just to build the credibility of the staff and program with the gang members and the community.

Recruitment and Referral

The bulk of the youth who are part of the Comin' Up program join as a result of the outreach workers' efforts and not through referrals. (We heard estimates that between 75 percent and 90 percent come from direct outreach.) However, there is a referral network made up of probation, court personnel, police, schools, employment programs, drug and alcohol treatment centers.

Referring agencies have a lot of contact with Comin' Up because many of them have representatives that go out to the facilities weekly to provide services and interact with youth, or because they are located close to or in the same building as the administrative office of Comin' Up.

Staffing, Intake and Tracking

To be eligible, youth are supposed to be gang-involved, but program coordinators indicated that they allowed those considered very high risk (e.g., girlfriends of gang members, siblings, youth who hang out with gang members but who may not have been "jumped in") to join Comin' Up. To be in the program, youth need only to complete a membership application and, if they are 17 or under, get the signature of a parent. A program coordinator explains the program expectations. There is no fee.

Each of the facilities is staffed by two outreach workers, two youth development specialists and a program coordinator. The outreach workers are part-time employees who are responsible for getting out to youth in the neighborhood around the facility and getting them interested in coming to the facility for programming. The outreach workers also spend their time calling and contacting youth who are already part of Comin' Up to tell them about specific activities, field trips and programs to try to encourage participation. All the outreach workers are former gang members (who have made changes in their behaviors) who came from the community in which the facility is operated and therefore have credibility with the youth. The youth development specialists are also part-time employees who work directly with program youth. They create and run the programs. The program coordinators are each responsible for running a Club during program hours (8-11 p.m.) and supervising a four-person,

part-time staff comprised of the two youth development specialists and two outreach workers per site. The program coordinators organize service providers to give presentations and also may give presentations themselves in the areas of recreation, social and educational activities. They do (documented) case management of at least 25 youth and paperwork for their Club (e.g., monthly calendars, monthly reports), transport youth to their court docket dates and/or job interviews, and conduct home visits youth involved in the program.

There are also two program directors who work out of the Comin' Up program administrative office. Each of the program directors oversees four facilities, provides additional support for the program coordinators and helps with the paperwork. In addition, one program director supervises and monitors programming issues, helps find service providers that can offer programs and ensures that each Club meets the program objectives. The other program director hires and supervises the youth development specialists. In addition, the program directors obtain equipment and supplies and run intersite leagues. Finally, they are involved with the court docket agreement that was established with the city. The program directors rotate among the Clubs, going to a different one each night during the hours they are open.

Another individual, the director of mediation, does not work with any specific facility. His responsibility is to help diffuse any crises in the community that have to do with gang violence. He also monitors all the facilities to make sure the Outreach Workers are doing their jobs and reaching out to gang-involved youth.

A full-time project director is directly responsible for supervising the program staff and for general management as well as for seeing that the program is meeting the nine objectives established by the city. The project director is also the main point of contact for the outside agency service providers as well as for city officials and the county crime commission.

Programming

The facilities are open from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. Monday through Friday (except for Como, which is open only three nights a week), after the Clubs close to the "regular" Club members. All people who enter the facility must pass through a metal detector to ensure no weapons are brought in; the goal is to provide a "safety zone environment."

The program lures the youth by activities such as basketball, videos, movies and a safe place to hang out. Because getting the gang members to the classes the program offers can be challenging, Clubs provide incentives and rewards for good attendance. A reward might be the opportunity to go waterskiing or rock climbing. These events give youth an important chance to see appropriate behaviors outside of the neighborhood.

During the hours the facilities are open, five staff members provide programming and get to know the youth at each site. Service providers also present programming, including GED classes, job skills classes, computer classes, AIDS awareness, MADD presentations, non-violence training, parenting classes and life skills.

One of the obstacles for youth in finding legitimate jobs has been that they have many tickets (for traffic violations, fighting, drinking, curfew violation, truancy) or have been in jail and have a record. The Comin' Up program helps in multiple ways. The first has to do with the tickets. There is a court docket specifically for Comin' Up members (one Friday night each month). The youth plead guilty and then they do community service at the Club. The youth's record is then clean. Another agreement made with the police department is that officers will not come into the Clubs/facilities to make arrests and thereby destroy the trust of the youth in the project staff.

Second, job placement is a big part of the program effort. Service Providers such as the Job Skills Program of Boys & Girls Clubs and Fort Worth Weed and Seed seek out employers who are willing to take on employees from the Comin' Up program. Staff work with the youth and the employer to help the youth apply and interview and, if the youth is hired for the job, to help make sure the experience is positive for both.

Outside agency representatives and Club staff reported that the relationships developed between the youth and the staff are key to the project's success. They described it as "easy access" for youth to find someone to talk to because there are five staff members available at each facility. Staff members go out of their way to help youth both when the Club is open and also at all other times of the day. Furthermore, one of the main mechanisms for diminishing gang violence is the building of trust between youth and staff, which has led to youth "anonymously" informing staff when something is about to happen. Staff then relay the information to the police and also become involved (via the director of mediation) in trying to diffuse the situation before it leads to violence.

Changes in the Clubs

Staff reported that it was not necessary to make changes in the Clubs to accommodate Comin' Up because the program is an extra operation, after the regular Boys and Girls Club hours. However, the project did lead to an expansion

into city recreation facilities and the use of other non-Club facilities to run the Comin' Up program around the city in the evening hours. The program also implemented a new practice by checking to see that no youth brought weapons into the Club.

Boys & Girls Club of Ventura: "Facing the Future"

Project Overview

In Ventura, the gang intervention initiative is called "Facing the Future." With a few exceptions, Facing the Future (FtF) youth are probation referrals and attend the Clubs as a "loose" condition of their probation. The youth are responsible for attending FtF for a total of 50 hours, and the ideal is to have youth participate in programming at the Club twice a week for 12 consecutive weeks. However, if youth miss a day, they simply attend for longer than 12 weeks. Program plans are developed according to a 12-week schedule, but because the FtF operates on a continuous basis, youth simply begin or finish attending classes according to their own schedule. Programming includes biweekly sessions that cover conflict resolution, job search assistance, team building activities, homework assistance, and recreational activities and field trips.

Goals

Almost everyone we spoke with felt that it was unrealistic to try to get youth out of gangs. Instead, they established a goal of having the youth living positive lifestyles, "facing the future in a way they had not done before," though they may continue to verbally "claim" a gang. The adults seemed to understand that the gang represents a neighborhood or ethnic identity and not necessarily a criminal lifestyle. A "positive" lifestyle includes employment, no criminal activity and relationship development (mentoring, parenting, anger management).

Gang Problem

The gang problem in Ventura is reportedly a reflection of the gang problem in Southern California. Although police feel the gang situation in Ventura is not as serious a problem when compared to Los Angeles or neighboring Oxnard, they report a "significant number" of gang-related crimes, including stabbings, beatings, vandalism, substance abuse, some drug dealing and a few homicides. Police estimate that there are approximately 1,000 gang members in Ventura, with eight gang killings that took place between July 1997 and June 1998, an increase from the previous year. Several people we talked to mentioned that, although most of the Ventura gangs (like the Avenue Gangsters) are Hispanic, the number of white supremacist gangs is growing. In fact, the Club was closed down for several months because of a fire allegedly set by a white supremacist youth. A few people also mentioned the influence of the Hell's Angels, which they claim encourages white supremacist groups and brings drugs (mainly methadone) into communities.

History and Development of the Initiative

Fifteen years ago, Ventura was shocked by its first drive-by shooting. As a result of the drive-by, the then police chief started a gang enforcement team. The unit was exclusively concerned with enforcement and making a pro-active statement to the community.

In 1992, a Gang Taskforce committee was formed, and a Boys & Girls Clubs unit director was one of the co-chairs. The taskforce included citizens, police and representatives of the department of drug and alcohol abuse. Out of this taskforce came the Youth Violence Prevention Committee. Over the next few years, this group spearheaded a community mobilization effort, put together plans for the area's first youth summit and developed master plans for the city to reduce youth violence.

In 1994, a group of people who were involved with the taskforce, including the judge, Club staff and some police, went to an OJJDP conference. Following the conference, Boys & Girls Club of Ventura applied to BGCA for a GITTO grant. Representatives from police and probation worked with the Club's executive director and the Club project director to develop the structure of FtF, using Boys & Girls Clubs of America's four-point philosophy as a foundation.

The project was implemented in two Club units: Addison and LeFevre.

Recruitment Process and Referral Partners

The recruitment and referral efforts differ for the two Club units. One unit, Addison, receives all of its referrals from probation. After probation officers review their caseloads, FtF program directors help them decide which youth to refer. The youth referred to the LeFevre unit also include referrals from other agencies (e.g., the Westside Family Center, an agency that deals primarily with domestic violence problems, but with a focus on the emotional needs of at-risk family and youth) and members of the Club's alternative high school program (whose youth are referred by the school district).

Staffing, Intake and Tracking Process

Youth referred through probation learn about FtF. On their first night at the Club, the youth along with his or her parent, the probation officer, all FtF staff and a police officer attend an orientation session. If the youth completes the program, the same group is invited back to celebrate. The probation officer indicated, however, that half of the time the youth's parents do not show up.

All youth are immediately assigned a Guardian Angel (GA) to act as their case manager. Any staff person can be a GA. They are assigned to youth by the program directors, based on availability of staff.

The two program directors are responsible for filling out the intake and tracking forms at their respective Clubs. They gather information to complete the documentation from the youth's GA and from probation.

Programming

The content of FtF programming is provided largely by Club staff, but two outside organizations' representatives also contribute. The Club provides homework assistance; computer lab time; a Guardian Angel; case management (by the Club director); Smart Moves; Teens, Crime and the Community (a Club course); a team building project; and videos and discussion groups.

The Westside Family Coalition provides staff who teach Anger Management/Conflict Resolution and Job Smart, an outreach program for at-risk youth. Job Smart includes job development, job counseling, job search training and job preparation. The curriculum covers resume writing, networking and self-esteem building.

Police, probation and Club staff all track the progress and attendance of the youth, and all attend the youth's orientation and "graduation" ceremonies.

Changes to the Club to accommodate the initiative

Program directors reported that few changes were necessary to make regular Club programming accommodate FtF, because FtF operates in the evenings when the Clubs are open only to teens. With no younger kids around, there are fewer safety issues or concerns. In addition, although there are a few times when FtF kids participated in regular Club activities, most of their time was spent separate from regular members. Finally, there were fewer than five youth involved in any one session, so their presence was not considered problematic for the other Club youth.

Two changes that the Club made were the use of Guardian Angels with the FtF youth, and giving Club staff increased access to probation and police personnel through their personal beepers.

Boys & Girls Club of St. Paul: "Getting Out"

Program Overview

The Getting Out Program is a collaborative effort of the Boys & Girls Clubs of St. Paul and the St. Paul Police Department. The program offers free tattoo removal to gang involved youth when they commit to leaving their gang and taking other steps toward changing their lives. Tattoo removal is critical for youth who want to leave gangs because tattoos can be an external marker of gang involvement. Employers or other gang members may continue to mistake a youth as a gang member as long as they retain their tattoo. In order to qualify for monthly treatments, youth are required to put in 20 hours of community service each month and work with a case manager to attain their personal goals.

The program has five main components: community service, education, job skills, life skills and recreation. Unlike other Boys & Girls Clubs initiatives, it is not a facility-based program. The program hinges on the relationship developed between a youth and one case manager. Youth are assigned to one case worker who helps them set goals and find the resources, either within or outside the Club, to achieve those goals. As a result, many of the Getting Out youth did not visit the Boys & Girls Club.

Goals

The primary goal of the initiative is to create a network of services that will support youth attempting to get out of gangs. Specifically, the goals are as follows:

- Establish a referral network that will enable the Club to identify 35 youth who have expressed interest in getting out of gangs;
- Build a network of service providers who will assist gang-involved youth in meeting their needs;
- Establish a case management system to track participant progress in achieving personal goals in community service, education, job skills, life skills, and positive peer interactions; and
- Create a mechanism to remove gang-related tattoos as participants show satisfactory progress toward meeting their goals.

Gangs in St. Paul

At the time of our research, the Twin Cities had a unique and pervasive gang problem. Its Midwestern location and proximity to Chicago and Detroit had led to the infiltration of prominent national gangs including Bloods, Crips, Disciples, Latin Kings and Vice Lords. Some of these gangs had been recruiting in the Twin Cities since the 1970s and were known to be involved in drug distribution. They had also been responsible for several homicides, including those of police officers. Newer local gangs, particularly Southeast Asian gangs, had also begun to form. These gangs were thought to be more territorial in nature and focused on the protection of members in their group. At the time of our research, Asian gangs had not been involved in serious shooting or homicide incidents, but were becoming well-armed. Other local or neighborhood gangs were also constantly evolving.

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The Getting Out program focuses heavily, although not exclusively, on Asian gangs as a result of the location of the Clubs participating in the initiative. Clubs are located in and around a large Hmong community. The unique issues in this community, resulting from their immigrant experience, appeared to contribute to the gang problem. In particular, family dynamics had changed as a result of immigration. Youth have developed greater language skills and familiarity with American culture than have their parents and, as a result, have more power in the family. But conversely, youth are left feeling more vulnerable. Reports indicated that Asian youth are often picked on in school because of language and cultural differences, so they join gangs as a way of protecting themselves. St. Paul developed a gang task force that works closely with the Boys & Girls Clubs, and the school system adopted a policy of zero tolerance for gang-related behaviors.

History and Development of Getting Out

The St. Paul Gang Task Force and BGCA approached the St. Paul Boys & Girls Club about beginning a program for gang-involved youth. For some time, the Gang Task Force and local social service agencies who work with gang-involved youth had recognized the need for a tattoo removal service. Because of the expense, however, no agency in St. Paul had been able to provide it. The Minneapolis Boys and Girls Club had temporarily offered the service but was forced to discontinue it.

When the idea was initially proposed, staff at the St. Paul Club were reluctant to become involved. The project asked Club staff to reach out to a higher-risk population of youth than they were used to serving. Eventually they became more comfortable with the idea and began to develop the program. Staff at the Club worked closely with the Gang Task Force who, along with BCGA, provided the initial funding. The Gang Task Force also identified a plastic surgeon who was willing to do pro bono tattoo removal once a month. Once these services were in place, a coordinator was hired and the program began to receive referrals immediately.

Referral, Recruitment and Target Population

Youth are referred to the program by schools, police, probation, community agencies or Boys and Girls Club staff or parents. Youth may also find out about the program by word of mouth and may initiate contact on their own. One successful outreach strategy has been for staff to go to schools during lunch to meet and recruit youth. Outreach staff have also attempted to recruit at the Clubs by making evening visits to make contact with gang youth.

Through experience, the target population for the program has been refined to focus on youth who want to leave the gang. The Club made a decision to focus on this population because they felt that youth who were not ready to make a change demanded too much of the staff's time. Because the program is providing free tattoo removal, they felt it important to reserve this service for those youth that were ready to leave the gang. This is an important stipulation because some youth may want a tattoo removed so they can switch gangs. Their referral sources are aware of this policy.

Intake and Tracking

Once the youth are informed about the program, the referring adult contacts the Getting Out staff to arrange for someone to come and speak to the youth. The staff member describes the program and attempts to engage the youth's interests during a 20- to 30-minute interview. They then provide the youth with next steps, i.e., a phone number to call for follow-up. They require that the youth take the initiative to call the staff for an appointment. The youth are then expected to complete their first month of community service before they can begin tattoo removal. The intake meeting is usually held with the parents, and a case history, medical information, goals and interests are obtained. In addition, a pre-screening questionnaire is given to youth during the interview process to help assess their level of motivation for changing their lifestyle.

In addition to the information on the standard tracking forms used by all the sites, Getting Out staff keep logs of conversations, phone calls and the goal-setting activities they do with the youth.

Project Staffing

Initially, the project had significant staff turnover—three coordinators in the first year. In February 1998, five new staff members were hired, including a new program coordinator. The program expanded its staff at this point to six full-time employees. The program coordinator is responsible for overseeing all program operations including staffing and budgeting. She also served as a case manager for a few of the participants. The program coordinator reported to the Club's director of operations. The remaining five staff were outreach coordinators, the primary case managers. They also arranged community service assignments, networked with community agencies and organized parent outreach. One outreach coordinator served as the primary contact for police and parole officers.

Changes to the Club

According to staff, no specific changes had been made to the Club facility to accommodate the Getting Out program. Fire code requirements prevented the addition of security to the building, such as locking additional entrances. There were changes, however, in policies and

procedures. A new member orientation was added and new members were required to bring a parent with them to meet with staff members. Staff also participated in a training program on how to respond to various emergency scenarios. Because the Getting Out program is separate from the rest of the Club, most activities do not take place on site. Therefore, the Club did not have to make major changes to accommodate it.

Boys & Girls Club of Manatee County: The Brandenton and Palmetto Clubs

Goals

The goals of Targeted Outreach at the Bradenton and Palmetto Clubs, as reported by staff, are:

- To help youth be successful in school and keep them out of the justice system;
- To provide a good, positive atmosphere for youth to grow stronger; and
- To make a difference in the lives of troubled youth.

No staff person mentioned gangs, reflecting the preventive approach used by the Clubs, who tend to recruit youth from elementary schools, prior to their involvement with gangs.

Gang Problem

According to police personnel, there are five gangs in Manatee County, mostly territorial Hispanic gangs. Reportedly, there is more gang crime in Bradenton than in Palmetto, the two areas in which the Clubs are situated. Gangs in the area are most prevalent at the high school level, among youth age 14 and up.

History and Development of the Initiative

In 1996, the executive director submitted a proposal to BGCA for funding to implement GPTTO. A key objective was to help the organization refocus on its mission to serve all youth, including those exhibiting negative behaviors. When the Clubs received funding, they held a community-mobilization meeting with law enforcement personnel and school representatives. In light of the anticipated demands of targeted outreach, a director of operations position was created. This staff member's primary responsibility is to respond to the increased paperwork and cross-Club cooperation that results from GPTTO.

The main obstacle to getting GPTTO off the ground was getting buy in from staff. They had to change their perceptions of gang youth, and to agree to work with them. At the beginning of GPTTO, the staff's attitude was "we don't deal with gang kids, we deal with good kids." But the executive director and director of operations emphasized that the mission was to work with *all* kids, and eventually the staff came around.

The Club also found it very difficult to secure outreach coordinators; they had hired and lost two to three people before they hired the current coordinators. The Clubs also found it challenging to develop relationships with law enforcement. Palmetto had at least three different police liaisons in the year prior to our interview. Still, Palmetto had more luck building a relationship with the police department than did Bradenton. As a result, Bradenton has focused almost exclusively on schools. Schools were easier for both Clubs to form relationships with, largely because several schools had former Club employees, and in one case the principal was a former board member.

Recruitment and Referral

At the time of our visit, the recruitment process consisted almost exclusively of school referrals and the inclusion of current Club members. The school referral partners cultivated by the Manatee County Clubs have been able to supply them with more than 50 youth per Club. Club staff took advantage of these relationships and met with teachers, principal, and counselors, and ate with kids in the cafeteria as part of a recruiting effort.

Teachers and principals from elementary schools indicated they refer youth who have no after-school supervision, need social development or peer relationship skills, and need good role models.

The relationship between police and the Clubs has not been as strong as the Club would like, a situation that can be attributed to staff turnover among police. We met with a police officer who was new to the Club board and who felt that the development of a relationship was promising.

Staffing, Intake and Tracking

The outreach coordinator at Palmetto stated she seeks to involve kids who are in trouble. To determine a youth's needs, she sometimes asks the youth directly, or asks another Club employee to whom the youth may have opened up. Sometimes she gets information from the teachers or other school personnel who referred the youth.

The Bradenton outreach coordinator stated that she looks for kids in trouble based on "the area that they live in, kids with unsupervised time, behavior problems and low grades, from low-income and single parent households." She asks kids directly what their needs and interests are, but lets the parents fill out the first two pages of the intake form that identify risk factors.

The outreach coordinator at each Club had a case load of 50 kids, for whom she was responsible for completing all of the intake and tracking. The outreach coordinator is also responsible for outreach to youth, contact with school, parents and police. The director of operations reviewed all of

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the paperwork before it went to BGCA and provided daily assistance and supervision to the outreach coordinators.

Although early in the initiative the Clubs had tried to assign five or six youth to each staff member, they found that structure unsuccessful, as all of the staff were part-time and therefore had difficulty getting the paperwork done.

Both outreach coordinators say they talk to the youth a lot to get the tracking information. Or, if they notice "something going on" with a GPTTO youth but do not know the whole story, they will ask part-time staff who may know the youth better. The outreach coordinators also monitor the youth's attendance at school, collect their grades, and call home if they see they are not going to school. They talk to parents in the afternoons when they come to pick up their kids.

The outreach coordinator at Bradenton also confirmed that she tries to build a relationship with the youth so that if they have problems they will talk to her about it. She sees their home environment, school environment, collects their grades and watches how they are doing at the Club.

Club staff found it challenging to keep the program transparent. Club staff indicated that, although youth may not be aware that they are in a gang prevention program, all seemed to be aware that they are in a special group. They believe that they are in it because they are having trouble in school or need a scholarship to attend the Club, and that the outreach coordinator takes a special interest in them.

Both outreach coordinators found the paperwork "overwhelming." However, neither felt that there was any piece of the tracking form that should be cut.

Programming/Mainstreaming

At the Club, youth participate in designated activities by age and gender groups. These activities rotate on the hour and the entire schedule changes every three months. Thus, GPTTO youth, as all other youth, participate in programs with their age and gender cohort. Although this structure could work to inhibit effective mainstreaming of GPTTO youth into Club activities, it works effectively to mainstream the youth at Bradenton and Palmetto because most of the Manatee County GPTTO youth and the Club youth are elementary school children. Furthermore, the age and gender groups are large enough that the GPTTO youth are not grouped together.

In addition to attending the regular Club activities, GPTTO youth are pulled out to have special time with the outreach coordinator for pizza parties, check-in discussions and special field trips. These activities are not officially scheduled, but take place fairly regularly.

The staff did not feel at the time that they were lacking in any programs at the Club that the youth might be interested in or need; thus, they had not developed any new programs at the time of the site visit.

Changes to the Club

The Clubs are bringing in more youth who cannot pay the membership fees ($35 a quarter plus $10 a month for transportation); however, the Board has agreed to deal with the financial fall-out of providing scholarships for those kids. Staff also mentioned that there has been an increase in minor discipline problems, which led to some frustration on their part. Finally, they have changed their attendance policy. The prior rule was that kids had to arrive on time and stay all afternoon; however, they found that the GPTTO youth wanted to use the Club more as a drop-in center. Now, although they have not made an announcement about it, the staff do allow GPTTO kids to come and go.

Boys & Girls Club of Tustin

Goals

The stated goals for GPTTO in the Tustin Club are to reach out to youth who normally would not go to the Club and provide them with the skills they are lacking; teach them about norms, values and morals of mainstream society; and provide educational and job opportunities. To achieve these goals, the Club sought to discover the youth's interests and needs and develop programs to address them.

Gang Problem

According to police and probation in Tustin, the gang problem is "mostly under control," due to the city gang unit's approach of serious enforcement. The most hard core gangsters are currently in jail. However, the youth and teachers from the alternative high school mentioned local gangs still in the area, and the police officer identified one or two primarily Hispanic gangs in the area.

History and Development of the Initiative

In 1996, the Boys and Girls Club of Tustin received a grant to begin implementation of GPTTO. Well known in the community for its hands-on, non-bureaucratic approach, the Club can respond immediately to a situation and can usually get immediate action. Initially, the real challenge was educating the Board and the community about what the Club is trying to do. There was some sense that in past years the club had been leaning toward getting rid of youth who caused problems. Instead, the Club has used

the GPTTO program to guide youth to discipline themselves, discover the needs and interests of all youth and then improve their programming.

Recruitment and Referral

Four years prior to initiating the GPTTO project, the Tustin Club received an award from The Annie E. Casey Foundation for the top collaboration program in the Pacific region. The Club was one of 40 or 50 agencies working in collaboration to avoid duplicating services. Therefore, the community network was well established when the GPTTO program began. However, Club staff reported that during the first year of the GPTTO grant, the community-mobilization effort was not very effective at drawing in referrals. The Club sent out materials but did not receive any referrals. The GPTTO youth came in mainly through direct outreach. During the second year, however, the effort was much more successful. Club staff felt the improvement came because they focused on making key contacts, rather than casting a broad net as they had the first year, and as a result agencies sought them out.

The year prior to the site visit, for example, the Club had developed relationships with probation and with two alternative schools. The Club also developed a relationship with the community resource officer, and though it is a good relationship, it has not led to referrals. The police appear to have referral cards to hand out to youth, but no referrals have come in that way.

Staffing, Intake and Tracking

In the year prior to P/PV's visit, the Club instituted a practice in which it trained referral agencies to fill out the intake forms. The probation officer takes this one step further: she asks the parent to complete the intake form for youth whom she refers to the program, which allows them to see what type of programs and services the Club offers.

Once the youth gets to the Club, one of the two "trackers" goes over the intake form with the youth in an informal interview. The tracker observes the youth's interactions at the Club and little by little starts talking and tries to get the youth to open up. The list of youth's interest codes on the intake and tracking forms have helped staff connect the youth to appropriate programming. The section on youth needs, however, gets filled out by the parent and the probation officer, so the Club can offer programs that address such needs as computer and life skills.

Because the Tustin Club organizes staff responsibilities by discipline (e.g., art, social recreation), having all the staff involved in tracking the youth was not feasible. For example, the person in the arts room would not see the youth outside of that room. Thus, two staff members are designated "trackers," who check in with the rest of the staff and find out what the youth have done that month.

Once a week, the two trackers and the director of operations meet to talk about issues related to the program. At the end of each month, the trackers check in with the other Club staff, meet individually with the kids, talk with the probation officer, and complete the tracking forms. Each tracker is responsible for completing about half the tracking forms.

The tracking staff felt that the Club participation section was probably the most critical section of the tracking form. They felt that the school section needed to include grades at the end of the semester and the end of the year. They indicated that they were not usually able to get school information because they did not have a full-time coordinator who could visit the schools.

The Tustin Club, similar to other Clubs, mentioned that its case management efforts had been complicated by a high rate of staff turnover. At the time of our visit, one of the Trackers had become part time and the Club was looking for alternative ways to handle the tracking.

Programming/Mainstreaming

Youth in the Right Trak program (the name given to the Clubs' GPTTO initiative) sign in when they get to the Club and when they leave. Although they are the only youth to sign in, they know that it is a requirement of the scholarships they receive.

At the same time a lot of GPTTO youth were referred, the Club was also starting the H.O.T. (Help Our Teens) program, which helped to camouflage the fact that the youth were part of targeted outreach. The H.O.T. program is a life skills program, offered twice a week. It is also a job-training program—kids worked at the Club, rotating through different job responsibilities such as helping in the Little Rascals (daycare) room, with paperwork or in the Environmental room. The job part had strict guidelines such as lunch and break policies to which the youth had to adhere. Every Friday night the Club hosted teen night. Kids also earned field trips as part of the program. Fifty to 60 percent of the youth in the program were Right Trak youth.

The H.O.T. program took place only in the summer. At the time of our visit (in Fall 1998) we were told that youth would come, do homework, then hang out and talk. They still have other responsibilities, including a conflict resolution course, computer training and work with the Little Rascals (a state-funded daycare program that is housed in the Club).

Many of the older youth who are being referred through the alternative high school housed in the back of the Club had not yet been mainstreamed into the Club at the time of the visit. They use Club facilities (the gym and the computer room) as part of their alternative high school day, but they are still too "hard core" to integrate into the Club with the younger kids.

Changes to the Club

The staff identify the needs and interests of the kids and use this information as they develop programs. They do that with all the kids now, not just the Right Trak youth.

The program has brought community awareness in terms of what the Boys & Girls Club is doing. The Club is now recognized as more than just a hang out and recreation center. It is viewed as a youth development center with caring staff. A probation officer noted that, before, she would refer kids and they would go to play and have fun; but, now with the Right Track program, the Club offers so much more.

Girls & Boys Club of Garden Grove

Goals

One of the main goals in implementing GPTTO at the Club was to encourage staff to start thinking about an underserved segment of the population and then develop better strategies for serving them. Another goal in implementing GPTTO was to change the community's view of the Club. The Club leadership was eager to have the agency known for providing intervention/prevention services in the community instead of being known strictly as a recreation facility and daycare provider.

Gang Problem

The police officer with whom we spoke approximated that there were roughly 2,000 gang members ages 13 to 23 in the Garden Grove area. Although some are traditional territorial gangs, primarily Hispanic, there has also been a huge influx of Vietnamese to the community and with that the police have seen an influx of Asian gangs. These Asian gangs are more likely to be profit oriented and transitory (not territorial), are more likely to do well in school and don't "hang out" or wear traditional "clothes," which has made them harder to identify.

History and Development of the Initiative

The Girls and Boys Club of Garden Grove had been looked upon by teachers and social workers primarily as a daycare center. Prior to initiating the GPTTO program, the club placed greater emphasis on management and business training and providing daycare-type services to youth. There was no emphasis on the one-on-one aspect that GPTTO encourages and promotes. In the past, staff were not open to listening to individualized information and therefore, would not have known about a youth's particular interests.

Thus, the Club used the GPTTO model to get the Club directors back in tune with the youth, listening more and providing opportunities for more hands-on activities. The idea was to get the staff doing more follow-through in response to what the teens wanted.

Recruitment and Referral

During the first year of implementation, staff reported that they did not get much response to their efforts at community mobilization and therefore were not successful in building an external referral network. They focused instead on getting parents of existing members to refer youth to be "tracked" and to make sure that their programming was enhanced to meet the needs and interests of the youth. Club staff also reported referring existing Club members who were trouble makers, or who showed signs of risk for gangs, such as style of dress. Using the GPTTO approach gave Club staff the tools to provide more individualized attention to the youth already in the Club.

In the second year of implementation, the Club still had not established a referral relationship with the schools. It had, however, become the "manager" for the Youth and Family Counseling Program, a diversion and truancy reduction initiative housed in the police department offices. Police officers refer youth to the Youth and Family Counseling Program for counseling and to do community service. The Youth and Family Counseling Program could potentially refer youth to GPTTO but had not as of October 1998 because none of the youth had exhibited risk behaviors for gangs.

Staffing, Intake and Tracking

At the time of the site visit, the staffing structure and process for intake and tracking was in transition. During the first year of the program, the Club director had been managing the program and the paperwork. The youth were divided among the staff for tracking. Between the first and second year of implementation, however, the Club experienced a lot of staff turnover as well as promotions and other internal changes.

Just prior to our visit, the Club had hired a Director of Prevention Services who would be taking over responsibilities for GPTTO as well as the other Prevention Programs and services for teens run out of all the Clubs. Plans called for returning to a coordinated sequence of intake and tracking that would involve other Club staff, as well as a weekly meeting to discuss targeted outreach youth.

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The staff felt that the program plan was a helpful part of tracking the youth, particularly the list of interests that were attached to the forms. The codes that are listed with the intake forms have given the staff ideas of things they can do to get more interest and participation from the teens. In contrast, staff felt that the section on tracking school information was not relevant because their Club did not have a connection to the schools. Staff also suggested that tracking every three months might be more appropriate than every single month.

However, the Club leadership emphasized that because they had the paperwork established, they were in a good position to show the police department that they were a credible agency that could effectively work with the truancy reduction and court diversion program.

Programming/Mainstreaming

The training the Club received from Boys & Girls Clubs of America in how to run the programming/mainstreaming component of GPTTO seemed to resonate with Club staff. They initiated several new and creative programs that got the youth involved. For example, the teens established several gardens and became involved in a bicycle recycling program.

Changes to the Club

No changes were made to the Club facility. The overall approach and focus of the Club did change. Club staff felt that utilizing the GPTTO philosophy helped them develop the ability to keep their eyes open for those youth who could be at risk and to serve them better. The Club became more kid-focused and Club staff felt that they had turned to more of a focus that youth have more of a voice. When they offer input, the Club takes action so that they can see that their suggestions are valued. In turn, youth are speaking out more.

Appendix B
Survey Sample at Baseline and Follow-Up

In order to learn about the youth in GPTTO and GITTO, Club staff administered a survey to new youth when they first started coming to the Club. A total of 456 youth were surveyed as they entered the Club/project.

The baseline survey consisted of questions about the background characteristics of the youth, including gender, age, ethnicity/race and socio-economic status (SES); school information, such as grade in school, dropout status, grades received, homework completion and academic efficacy; neighborhood perception, including gang prevalence; acting out and delinquent behavior, including fighting, drug and alcohol use, street crimes, gang activity, arrest rates and probation status; involvement in outside activities and with supportive adults; peers and peer group; and reasons for attending the Boys & Girls Club and prior participation at the Club (see Appendix C for specific constructs and reliabilities).

The baseline survey was also administered to a sample of 399 comparison youth who lived in the same communities as the target youth. Comparison youth were recruited separately for Clubs implementing intervention and prevention strategies and were identified through public and alternative schools, other youth-serving organizations, police and probation.

Comparison Youth versus Target Youth

Although comparison youth were selected to match Target youth on age, gender and ethnicity, they were less successfully matched in terms of their risky behaviors. Analyses comparing Target Youth with comparison youth revealed significant differences at baseline on a number of behaviors, summarized in Table B.1.

Follow-Up Interviews and Attrition Rates

Youth recruited through the targeted outreach programs and those recruited as comparison youth went through a follow-up interview one year after the baseline survey. The follow-up survey included questions similar to those included on the baseline survey plus questions about the youth's experiences at the Clubs or in the intervention projects. Macro International, Inc. was subcontracted to conduct the follow-up interview with the youth.

Four Clubs had completed questionnaires with fewer than 23 youth due to issues such as limited new recruitment in their second year of implementation, challenges getting permission slips returned, administering the surveys and high rates of staff turnover. These Clubs were not included in the follow-up sample.

Attrition

Across the remaining seven Clubs, there were 377 treatment youth and 387 comparison youth surveyed at baseline: 302 of the 377 treatment youth (80%) participated in both the baseline and follow-up surveys; 264 of the 387 comparison youth (68%) completed both surveys. Given the attrition from baseline to follow-up, we investigated the comparability of the baseline sample and the follow-up sample. We conducted statistical tests to explore whether there was a difference between those who participated on the follow-up survey and those who did not with respect to gender, race, age and gang risk factor score at baseline. The differences are reported below.

Prevention Youth

There were 292 prevention youth surveyed at baseline, 236 of whom also participated in the one-year follow-up survey (81%). Among comparison prevention youth, 297 were surveyed at baseline, and 216 also responded at follow-up (73%).

For the prevention youth, the only significant difference between baseline-only versus two-wave completers was age. The mean age for those who completed both surveys was 11.91, while those who completed only the baseline survey were older on average, 13.18 years old ($p<.0001$).

For the prevention comparison youth, the only significant difference between those who completed the baseline versus those who completed both surveys was race. African Americans represented a smaller proportion of those who completed two-wave, while Hispanics and particularly those of other races represented a larger proportion of two-wave completers ($p<.10$).

Intervention Youth

There were 85 intervention youth surveyed at baseline, 66 of whom also completed the follow-up survey (78%). Ninety intervention comparison youth were surveyed, and 48 also completed the follow-up survey (53%).

For intervention youth, there are significant differences between those who completed only the first survey and those who completed both. These included gender, race and gang-risk score. Boys were much more likely to be followed up on than girls: 87 percent of boys completed both surveys, compared to 52 percent of girls ($p.001$). With respect to race, blacks and Hispanics were both more likely than those of other races to participate in both surveys ($p.001$). Finally, those who participated in both surveys had *higher* gang risk scores than did those youth who completed only the baseline survey (15.10 vs. 12.53, $p<.05$).

Intervention comparison youth also had significant differences with respect to race and gang risk score. Among this group, African Americans were less likely than either Hispanics or those of other races to participate in both waves of the survey ($p<.05$). Like the intervention treatments, intervention comparison youth who completed both waves of the survey had a higher average gang risk score than did those who completed only the baseline survey (14.58 vs. 11.69, $p<.05$).

Table B.1

Comparison of Target Youth and Comparison Youth on Select Characteristics

Area of Interest	Prevention Clubs	
	Comparison Youth	Prevention Youth
Demographic Characteristics		
Over the age of 13	28%	25%
Male	62%	62%
Receives free or reduced-price lunch at school	72%	78%
Lives in public housing	22%	25%
Does not have phone at home	90%	85%
High risk of gang involvement***	44%	64%
Member of a gang[t]	25%	33%
Participation in outside activities in the last four weeks (not including B&GC)		
0 activity	14%	15%
1 activity	22%	21%
2 or more activities	64%	64%
Worked at a job for pay at all in the past four weeks?[t]	38%	30%
Mean number of social supportive adults	2.8	2.8
Delinquent Activities		
Mean total number of delinquent activities in last year**	1.1	1.7
Sprayed graffiti or damaged property in past year*	10%	18%
Broke into building in past year**	5%	12%
Stole something worth more than $50 in past year	11%	15%
Got drunk in past year	18%	21%
Smoked pot in the past year	13%	14%
Used other drugs in the past year[t]	6%	11%
Carried a weapon in the past year*	11%	18%
Stopped or received warning from the police in the past year*	15%	24%
Been arrested and gone to court in the past year[t]	8%	15%
Been on probation in the past year***	6%	16%
Gone to jail or detention center in past year*	6%	12%
Neighborhood characteristics		
Live in a neighborhood where there is gang activity*	24%	33%
The people who live on their street are in a gang[t]	22%	31%
There is a lot of pressure to join a gang in the neighborhood[t]	23%	31%
There are a lot of neighborhood problems because of gangs[t]	38%	46%
Gang activity		
Hung out in the same place as gang members in the last year	24%	22%
Wore gang colors on purpose in the past year	17%	21%
Hung out with gang members in the past year	22%	23%
Stolen with gang members in the past year[t]	5%	10%
Flashed gang signs in the past year	20%	27%
Attacked people in gang related fights in the past year*	6%	12%
Been attached in a gang related fight in the past year	11%	13%
Drunk alcohol or gotten high with gang members in the past year[t]	7%	13%
Vandalized with gang members in the past year*	5%	11%
In the last year, done at least one gang activity	39%	44%
School		
Have ever been suspended**	28%	40%
Skipped school in the past four weeks	32%	38%
Cut school in the past four weeks**	49%	25%
Got mostly Cs or lower on last report card**	80%	67%
Not in school	0%	0%

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Table B.1. *continued*

Comparison of Target Youth and Comparison Youth on Select Characteristics

Area of Interest	Prevention Clubs	
	Comparison Youth	Prevention Youth
Family		
Has a family member in a gang**	18%	30%
Moved in the past year[1]		
0 times	47%	36%
1 time	26%	31%
2 or more times	27%	33%
Experienced more than two stressful life events during the year between the baseline and follow-up surveys	67%	67%
Had a loved one die during the year between the baseline and follow-up surveys	42%	45%
Peers		
Mean number of positive peers	2.4	2.4
Mean number of negative peers***	.46	.70

Area of Interest	Intervention Clubs	
	Comparison Youth	Intervention Youth
Demographic Characteristics		
Over the age of 13	91%	86%
Male*	61%	82%
Receives free or reduced price lunch at school	74%	66%
Lives in public housing	29%	22%
Does not have phone at home	86%	82%
High risk of gang involvement	87%	94%
Member of a gang*	41%	63%
Participation in outside activities in the last four weeks (not including B&GC)		
0	35%	31%
1	33%	14%
2 or more	33%	55%
Did you work at a job for pay at all in the past 4 weeks?	40%	54%
Mean number of social supportive adults	2.8	2.9
Delinquent Activities		
Mean total number of delinquent activities in last year	5.2	4.2
Sprayed graffiti or damaged property in past year	26%	34%
Broke into building in past year	26%	22%
Stole something worth more than $50 in past year	40%	32%
Got drunk in past year	59%	48%
Smoked pot in the past year[1]	63%	45%
Used other drugs in the past year	46%	32%
Carried a weapon in the past year[1]	63%	45%
Stopped or received warning from the police in the past year	70%	58%
Been arrested and gone to court in the past year	44%	41%
Been on probation in the past year	52%	38%
Been sent to jail or detention center in past year	30%	28%
Neighborhood		
Live in a neighborhood where there is gang activity	48%	54%
The people who live on their street are in a gang	33%	39%
There is a lot of pressure to join a gang in the neighborhood	20%	21%
There are a lot of neighborhood problems because of gangs	44%	58%

Table B.1. *continued*

Comparison of Target Youth and Comparison Youth on Select Characteristics

	Intervention Clubs	
Area of Interest	**Comparison Youth**	**Intervention Youth**
Gang activities		
Hung out in the same place as gang members in the last year	67%	73%
Wore gang colors on purpose in the past year	41%	55%
Hung out with gang members in the past year	74%	65%
Stolen with gang members in the past year	33%	30%
Flashed gang signs in the past year	43%	50%
Attacked people in gang related fights in the past year	28%	42%
Been attacked in a gang related fight in the past year	30%	35%
Drunk alcohol or got high with gang members in the past year	41%	36%
Vandalized with gang members in the past year	33%	27%
In the last year, done at least one gang activity	87%	79%
School		
Have ever been suspended	73%	83%
Skipped school in the past four weeks[1]	70%	52%
Cut class in the past four weeks	40%	34%
Got mostly Cs or lower on last report card[1]	52%	69%
Not in school	2%	9%
Family		
Has a family member in a gang	61%	65%
Moved in the past year:		
0 times	47%	41%
1 time	27%	20%
2 or more times	27%	39%
Experienced more than two stressful life events during the year between the baseline and follow-up surveys	67%	59%
Had a loved one die during the year between the baseline and follow-up surveys	48%	42%
Peers		
Mean number of positive peers	1.9	1.8
Mean number of negative peers	1.2	1.2

[1] $p<.10$
* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$

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Appendix C

Construct List with Items, Response Categories and Reliability Coefficients

School Value
(1=strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree; x=.79)
(Adapted from Tiernery and Grossman, 1995.)
What I have learned in school will be useful for the job I want as an adult.
I am interested in the things I've learned at school.
I would be upset if I got a low grade on school work.
My education will help me to get the job I want.
School is useful for helping me to make good decisions in my life.
Being a good student is important to me.

School Efficacy
(1=strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree; x=.81)
(From PALS, Midgley, Maehr and Urdan, 1995.)
I know I can learn the skills taught in school.
I can do even the hardest school work if I try.
I can do most school work if I don't give up.
Even if school work is hard, I can learn it.
I know I can figure out how to do even the most difficult school work.

Positive Family Relationships
(1=strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree; x=.75)
(Adapted from Tiernery and Grossman, 1995.)
My Parent/Guardian helps me to understand myself better.
I tell my Parent/Guardian about my problems and troubles.
If my Parent/Guardian knows something is bothering me, she (he) asks me about it.

Social Supportive Adults
(no adults, 1 adult, 2-3 adults, 4 or more adults; x=.80)
(Adapted from URCAP, Connell, Grossman and Resch, 1995).
About how many of the adults you know:
Pay attention to what's going on in your life?
Get on your case if you screw up?
Say something nice to you when you do something good?
Could you go to if you need some advice about personal problems?
Could you go to if you are really upset or mad about something?

Negative Conflict Resolution
(1=strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree; x=.76)
(Adapted from URCAP, Connell, Grossman and Resch, 1995).
When I have a problem or a disagreement with someone, I handle it by:
Threatening someone.
Yelling.
Physically fighting.

Positive Peers
(0=none to 5=all of them; x=.83)
(Adapted from Eccles survey used for the Macarthur pathways to successful transitions project.)
How many of the friends you spend most of your time with:
Make you feel good about yourself?
Do well in school?
Plan to go to college?
Like to talk with you about new things they've learned in school?
Are involved in school clubs, activities or sports?
Think it is important to work hard on schoolwork?
Go to church or religious services regularly?

Negative Peers
(0=none to 5=all of them; x=.85)
(Adapted from Eccles, survey used for the Macarthur pathways to successful transitions project.)
How many of the friends you spend most of your time with:
Think that having expensive clothes and other things is important?
Get in gang fights?
Skip school without an excuse?
Put pressure on you to drink alcohol?
Cheat on school tests?
Have stolen something worth more than $50?
Have broken into a car or building to steal something?
Put pressure on you to use drugs?
Are gang members?

Leadership Activities
(0=no to 3=yes, 3 or more times; x=.81, sum)
(Adapted from Gambone and Arbreton, 1997.)
Have you ever:
Been a class officer or served on a students council at school?
Coached a team or been a team captain?
Participated in a program that teaches you about being a leader?
Been a peer counselor or mediator (someone who helps solve fights)?
Given a presentation or represented a group, team or club at an outside event or meeting?
Helped plan activities or events for a group or club?
Helped other kids with their school work?
Been in charge of supplies or equipment where things are for sale?

Challenging and Interesting Activities at the Boys & Girls Club (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree; x=.81, mean score)
(Adapted from Gambone and Arbreton, 1997).
At the Boys & Girls Club:
I get to things that I don't usually get to do.
I get to go places that I don't usually get to go.
I get the chance to do a lot of new things.
There are a lot of activities for me to choose from.
The activities are really boring (reversed).
I have learned a lot of new things.

Belonging at the Boys & Girls Club (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree; x=.87, mean score)
(Adapted from PALS, Midgley, Maehr and Urdan, 1995; see also Gambone and Arbreton, 1997).
I feel like I belong here at the Boys & Girls Club.
I feel like my ideas count at the Boys & Girls Club.
People really listen to me at the Boys & Girls Club.
I feel like I am successful at the Boys & Girls Club.
The Boys & Girls Club is a comfortable place to hang out.
I feel like I am someone important at the Boys & Girls Club.

Adult Support at the Club
(fill in the number of staff; x=.87, mean score)
(Adapted from URCAP, Connell, Grossman and Resch, 1995).
About how many Boys & Girls Club staff:
Pay attention to what's going on in your life?
Get on your case if you screw up?
Say something nice to you when you do something good?
Could you go to if you need some advice about personal problems?
Could you go to if you are really upset or mad about something?

Stressful Life Events (0=no and 1=yes; sum)
(Adapted from Holmes and Rahe, 1967).
In the last year:
Have you gotten married?
Have you moved or changed where you lived?
Have you changed schools?
Has a parent or guardian stopped working or lost his/her job?
Has a parent or guardian started working?
Was someone you know hurt badly or very ill?
Did someone you know well die?

Gang Risk Profile
(0=no and 1=yes, weighted sum)
See Figure 1 in Chapter 2.

Delinquent Activities (8=never done this, 0=0 times in the last year to 4=more than 10 times)
(Adapted from the National Youth Survey, Elliot, Huizinga and Menard, 1989)
In the last year, how many times have you:
Sprayed graffiti or purposely damaged public or private property that did not belong to you?
Broken or tried to break into a building?
Stolen something worth more than $50?
Hit someone?
Gotten drunk?
Smoked pot (marijuana)?
Used other drugs to get high?
Carried a weapon or anything you intended to use as a weapon?
Been stopped or picked up by the police but just gotten a warning?
Been arrested and had to go to court?
Been on probation?
Gone to jail, or to a juvenile home, or been "sent away" by the court anywhere?

Involvement in Gang Activities (8=never done this, 0=0 times in the last year to 4=more than 10 times)
(Adapted from the Rochester Youth Study)
In the last year, how many times have you:
Hung out in the same place as gang members do?
Worn gang colors on purpose?
Hung out with gang members?
Stolen things with gang members?
Flashed gang signs?
Attacked people in gang-related fights?
Been attacked in a gang-related fight?
Drunk alcohol or gotten high with gang members?
Vandalized things with gang members?

Appendix D

Analytic Strategies

Estimation of the effect of participation in GPTTO and GITTO relied heavily on multi-variate analysis. In general, the multi variate model used to estimate the effect of GPTTO and GITTO on various outcome measures took the following form:

- $Y2 = a + b1Y1 + b2X + b3T + b4C + b4P + e1$

  where: Y2 = the follow-up (12-month) value of the variable of interest

  Y1 = the baseline value of the variable of interest

  X = a vector of explanatory variables

  T = whether the youth received GPTTO or GITTO treatment

  C = whether the youth came to BGC without being part of the GPTTO or GITTO target group

  P = *the level of participation at BGC*

  a, bi = coefficients

  ei = a stochastic disturbance term wit a mean of zero and a constant variance

The explanatory variable (X) included in the model were measures of: age, gender and race/ethnicity; gang risk factor score; level of social support received from adults and engagement in other after-school type activities; number of stressful life events in the preceding year. For the intervention, we included a control for Club site; we were not able to include this control variable for prevention Clubs due to the large number of Clubs.

This specification made it possible to estimate the effect of GPTTO and GITTO more precisely by controlling for pre-existing differences among youth. The estimated effect of GPTTO and GITTO is the coefficient on the dichotomous variable T, b3.

- $Y2 = a + b1Y1 + b2X + b3T + b4P + e1$

  where: Y2 = the follow-up (12-month) value of the variable of interest

  Y1 = the baseline value of the variable of interest

  X = a vector of explanatory variables

  T = whether the youth received GPTTO or GITTO treatment

  P = the level of participation at BGC

  a, bi = coefficients

  ei = a stochastic disturbance term wit a mean of zero and a constant variance

The estimated effect of participation at the BGC is the variable P, b4.

In addition to estimating the overall effect of the program using equation (1), a series of subgroup-treatment interaction variables were used to estimate the effect of GPTTO/GITTO on gender and age subgroups. Algebraically, equation (1) was modified as follows:

- $Y2 = a + b1Y1 + b2X + b3T + b4P + c1PM + e2$
- $Y2 = a + b1Y1 + b2X + b3T + b4P + c1PA1 + C2PA2 + e2$

  where: M = a dummy variable that equals 1 for males

  Ai = Age category dummy variables for age 13 to 15 and age 16 to 18
  (These are the variables only for prevention, with an omitted category of 9-12. For intervention, the variable is 14-18 with an omitted category of 9-13.)

  Ci = coefficients

The use of ordinary least squares (OLS) was not warranted when the dependent variable was dichotomous, such as in the case of whether a participant initiated drug or alcohol use or initiated gang behaviors. In such cases, logistic regression analysis, using maximum likelihood estimation, was used to estimate the treatment impact by specifying a linear function for the logit (the logarithm of the odds) of having a positive response (e.g., initiating drug use):

- $\log (p/[1-P]) = a + b2X + b3T + b4P + e1$

  Where: p = the probability that Y2 = 1

  1-p = the probability that Y2= 0

  a,.bi,T, *P* and ei are defined as in equation (1), but on a logit scale.

Only those youth who, at baseline, had reported never having used illegal drugs were included in the logistic regression analyses estimating the effect of GPTTO on initiations of drug use. Similarly, only those youth who had at baseline reported never having used alcohol were included in the analyses estimating impact on initiation of alcohol use. Therefore, the baseline assessment of these outcome variables was not included in these models.

As in the OLS models, explanatory variables controlling for pre-existing differences among the youth are included in the logit included models, and subgroup-treatment interaction variables are included in models estimating impacts for gender and age subgroups.

The key finding of the analysis is whether GPTTO or GITTO has an effect on various outcome measures. In the discussion of the results, we indicate whether an impact estimate is statistically different from zero by labeling statistically non-zero estimates as "significant." In this report, the term is reserved for estimates that were not equal to zero at a 0.10 or greater level of significance using a two-tailed t-test. These "significant" impacts are indicated in the tables and text with asterisks (*).

In summary, a variety of analytic strategies were used to evaluate the effect of participation in GPTTO and GITTO. The fundamental approaches used a dummy variable (indicating treatment or control group status) or a continuous participation variable (indicating level of frequency of involvement in the Club/Project) in an OLS regression. Other analyses (e.g., logit analysis) were used where the assumption of the OLS model were likely to be violated, such as when the outcome variable was dichotomous.

Table D.1

Summary Statistics from Regression Analysis

This table displays the unstandardized (b) estimates from regressions examining the effect of (1) being a Target versus a Comparison youth, and (2) increased levels of participation on youth's behavior at a 12-month follow-up point by Prevention and Intervention.[a]

	Prevention Tv. C	Prevention Tv. C	Prevention Participation	Prevention Participation	Intervention Tv. C	Intervention Participation	
Area of Interest	Change b	Initiation b	Change b	Initiation b	Change b	Change b	Outcome Range (if applicable)
Gang Behaviors							
Joined a gang (LOGIT)	-.43		.02		-.49	-.49	1=yes, 0=no
Left a gang (LOGIT)	.35		-.23		-2.14	.01	1=yes, 0=no
Stealing with gang members	.04	NE	.03	NE	.10	-.29*	number of times in the past year
Vandalizing with gang members	.09	NE	-.02	NE	.07	-.18	"
Wearing gang colors	.10	.31	-.03	-.33*	-.42	-.39*	"
Flashing gang signals	.18	-.36	.03	-.03	1.1	-.70***	"
Hanging at same place as gang members	-.16	-.16	-.03	-.02	-.39	-.46	"
Victim of a gang attack	.10	.02	.03	-.21	.29	-.27*	"
Drinking and using drugs with gang members	-.07	.26	.03	-.10	1.09	-.32	"
Hanging with gang members	.10	-.32	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.24	"
Number of negative peers	-.07*		.00		.23	-.09*	From 0=none to 5=all of them
Delinquent Behaviors in Past Year							
Arrested and went to court (LOGIT)	-.10	.79	.14	.18	.55	-.14	In the last year? 0=no, 1=yes
Sent away by court to jail or detention (LOGIT)	-.20	.08	-.03	-.41*	-.80	-.88**	"
Put on probation	.30	1.2	.11	-.02	.23	-.14	"
Stealing something worth more than $50 (LOGIT)	0	NE	-.04*	NE	-.05	-.19	Number of times
Number of times in the last year smoking pot	-.30*	NE	-.03	-.61*	-.05	-.19	"
Using other drugs	.01	NE	.02	NE	.02	0	"
Spraying graffiti	.01	NE	-.03	-.09	0	-.19	"
Carrying a weapon	.10	-.94	0	.16	.37	-.11	"
Getting a police warning	.07	0	.01	0	-.15	-.30*	"
Count of delinquent behaviors	.14		-.01	0	-.62	-.25	"

Table D.1, *continued*

Summary Statistics from Regression Analysis

This table displays the unstandardized (b) estimates from regressions examining the effect of (1) being a Target versus a Comparison youth, and (2) increased levels of participation on youth's behavior at a 12-month follow-up point by Prevention and Intervention.*

	Prevention Tv. C	Prevention Tv. C	Prevention Participation	Prevention Participation	Intervention Tv. C	Intervention Participation	
Area of Interest	Change b	Initiation b	Change b	Initiation b	Change b	Change b	Outcome Range (if applicable)
School							
Number of suspensions in past year	.35***		.03		.02	NE	Number
Skipping school	-.88		-.06		-.82*	-.04	Frequency in the last four weeks 0=not at all to 5=almost every day
Cutting class	-1.2*		-.06		-.79**	.02	
Grades	.21		.09·		-.18	.12	GPA range from low of 1 to 4
Valuing school	.10		.02·		.03	.02	from 1=strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree
Spend time on homework	-.06		.03		.67·	0	
Expectations to graduate	.08	.02	.09	.11*			
Seeking adult or teacher for help with school work	1.29**		-.03		NE	NE	Number of times in the last year
Relationships							
Number of positive peers	.02		.05*		-.09	-.05	From 0=none of them to 5=all of them
Positive family relationships	-.02		.03*		.34*	.04	From 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree
Solving problems through threats or violence	-.37		.02		NE	NE	
# of supportive adults	-.03		0		.08	.08	Number
# leadership activities	.06		-.02		-.42	.06	Number
# of outside activities	.30*		.06·		.97	.04	Number

* NE indicates that it was not possible to estimate the equation. Cells that are empty indicate that it was not appropriate to estimate initiation of a behavior. Regression analyses are based on baseline and follow-up interview data from 236 prevention and 216 comparison prevention youth and from 60 intervention and 48 intervention comparison youth.
·p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

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